



Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth-Century Crusades

Martin Hall and Jonathan Phillips



Crusade Texts in Translation 26



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CRUSADE TEXTS IN TRANSLATION

Volume 26

About the volume

This volume is the first comprehensive English translation, with a substantial introduction and notes, of the writings of Caffaro of Genoa, as well as related texts and documents on Genoa and the crusades. The majority of early crusading historiography is from a northern European and clerical perspective and Caffaro's voice offers an exciting departure with his more secular and Mediterranean tone. This book adds to our understanding of the reception of crusading ideas in the Mediterranean and, given Genoa's prominence in the commercial world, illuminates the complex and controversial relationship between holy war and financial gain.

About the series

The crusading movement, which originated in the 11th century and lasted beyond the 16th, bequeathed to its future historians a legacy of sources which are unrivalled in their range and variety. These sources document in fascinating detail the motivations and viewpoints, military efforts and spiritual lives of the participants in the crusades. They also narrate the internal histories of the states and societies which crusaders established or supported in the many regions where they fought, as well as those of their opponents. Some of these sources have been translated in the past but the vast majority have been available only in their original language. The goal of this series is to provide a wide ranging corpus of texts, most of them translated for the first time, which will illuminate the history of the crusades and the crusader-states from every angle, including that of their principal adversaries, the Muslim powers of the Middle East.

About the translators

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Caffaro dictating the 'Annals' of Genoa to the scribe Macobrio. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Latin 10136, f.1

CAFFARO, GENOA AND THE
TWELFTH-CENTURY CRUSADES

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Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth-Century Crusades

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¹ Please note: references to the works in this volume apply to our translated texts, except those explicitly attributed to Belgrano's edition.

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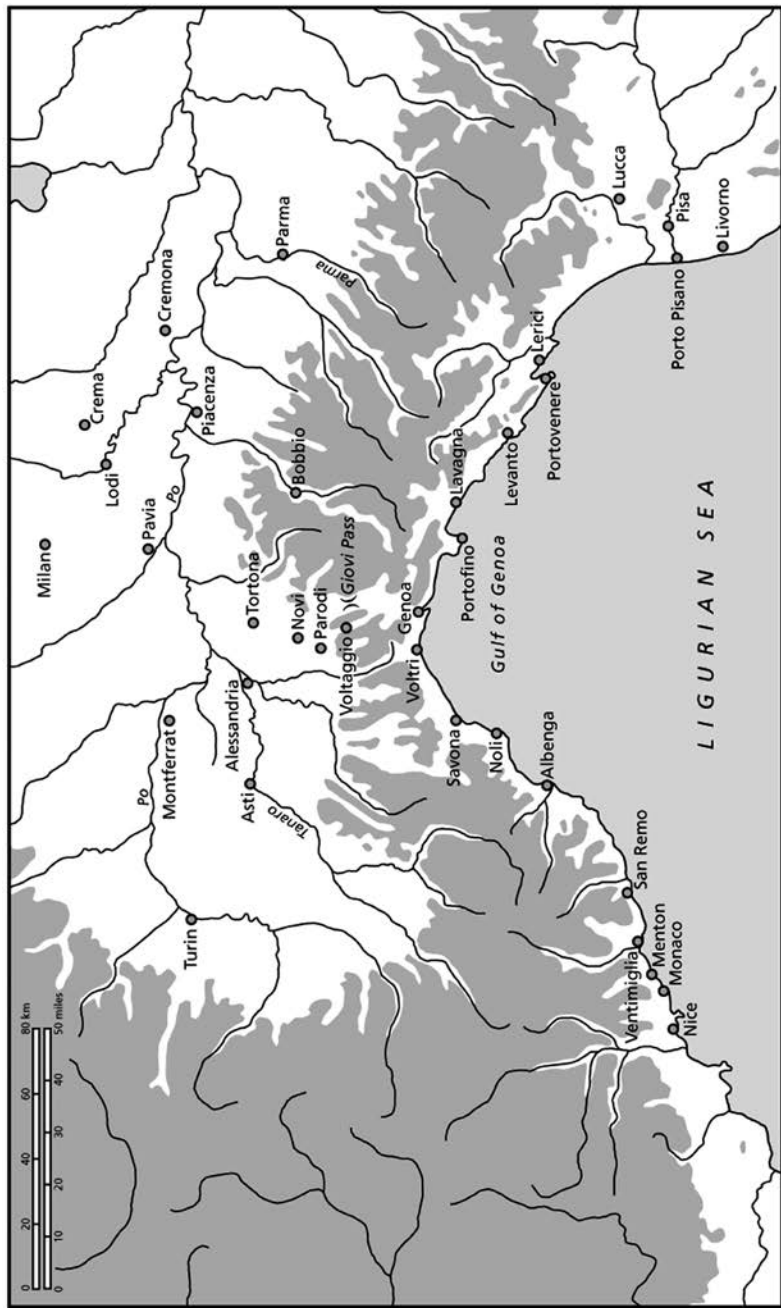
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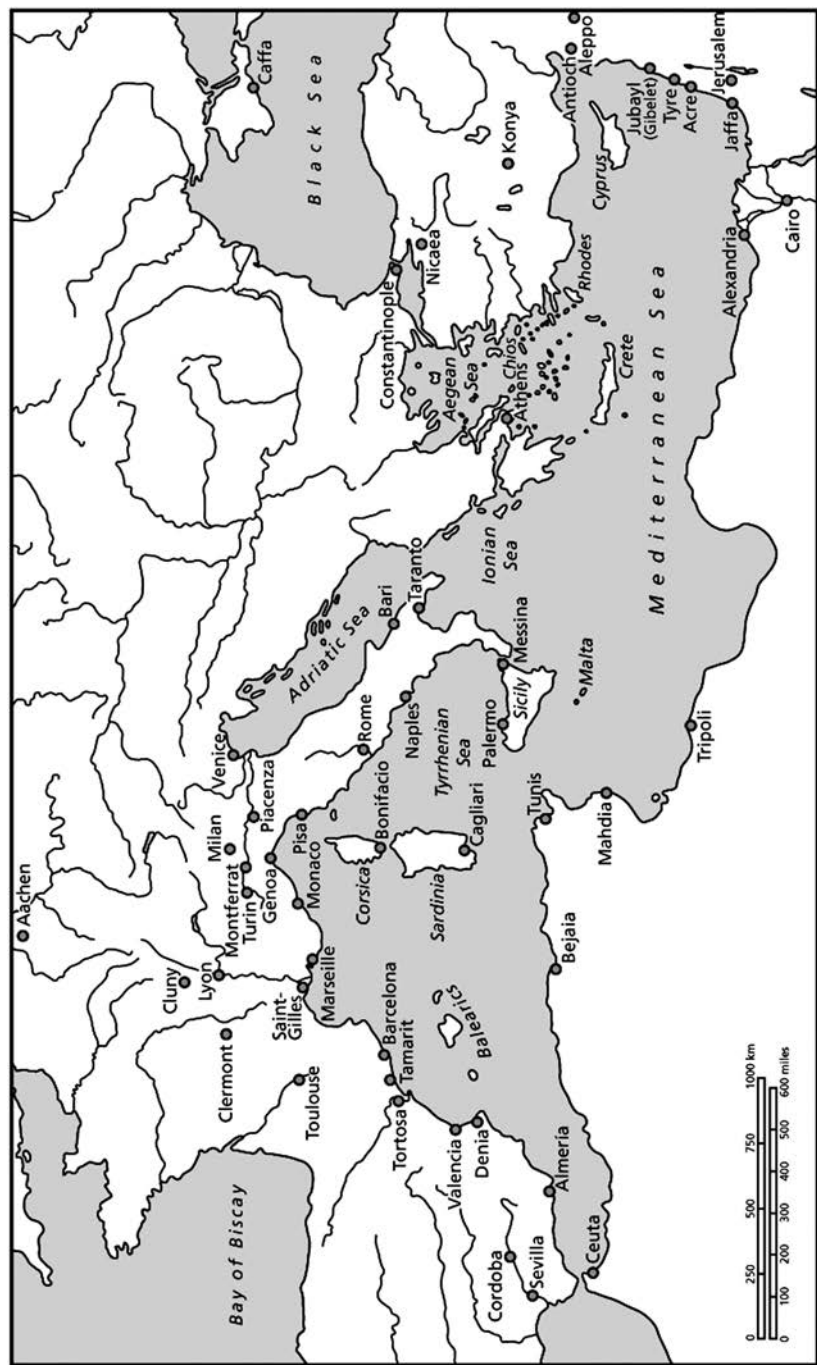
AA	Albert of Aachen, <i>Historia Ierosolimitana</i> , ed. and trans. S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007).
Airaldi, <i>Annali</i>	Caffaro, <i>Annales</i> , trans. (into Italian) M. Montesano, ed. G. Airaldi, <i>Gli annali di Caffaro (1099–1163)</i> (Genoa, 2002).
<i>Brevis Historia</i>	Belgrano, L., ed., ‘Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de’ suoi continuatori’, <i>Fonti per la storia d’Italia</i> , 118 vols (Rome 1887–1993), vols 11–14 bis (1890–1901), vol. 11, ‘ <i>Regni Ierosolymitani brevis historia</i> ’, pp. 125–49.
Caffaro, ‘Annals’	Belgrano, L., ed., ‘Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de’ suoi continuatori’, <i>Fonti per la storia d’Italia</i> , 118 vols (Rome 1887–1993), vols 11–14 bis (1890–1901), vol. 11, Caffaro, <i>Annales</i> (1099–1163), pp. 3–75.
Caffaro, <i>CAT</i>	Belgrano, L., ed., ‘Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de’ suoi continuatori’, <i>Fonti per la storia d’Italia</i> , 118 vols (Rome 1887–1993), vols 11–14 bis (1890–1901), vol. 11, Caffaro, <i>Ystoria captionis Almarie et Turtuose</i> , pp. 77–94.
Caffaro, <i>LCO</i>	Belgrano, L., ed., ‘Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de’ suoi continuatori’, <i>Fonti per la storia d’Italia</i> , 118 vols (Rome 1887–1993), vols 11–14 bis (1890–1901), vol. 11, Caffaro, <i>De liberatione civitatum Orientis</i> , pp. 95–124.
CD	<i>Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova</i> , ed. C. Imperiale di Sant’Angelo, 3 vols (Rome, 1936–42).
Epstein	Epstein, S.A., <i>Genoa and the Genoese, 958–1528</i> (Chapel Hill NC, 1996).
Fulcher	Fulcher of Chartres, <i>Historia Hierosolymitana, 1095–1127</i> , ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913); translated

as *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127*, ed. H.S. Fink, trans. F.R. Ryan (Knoxville, TN, 1969).

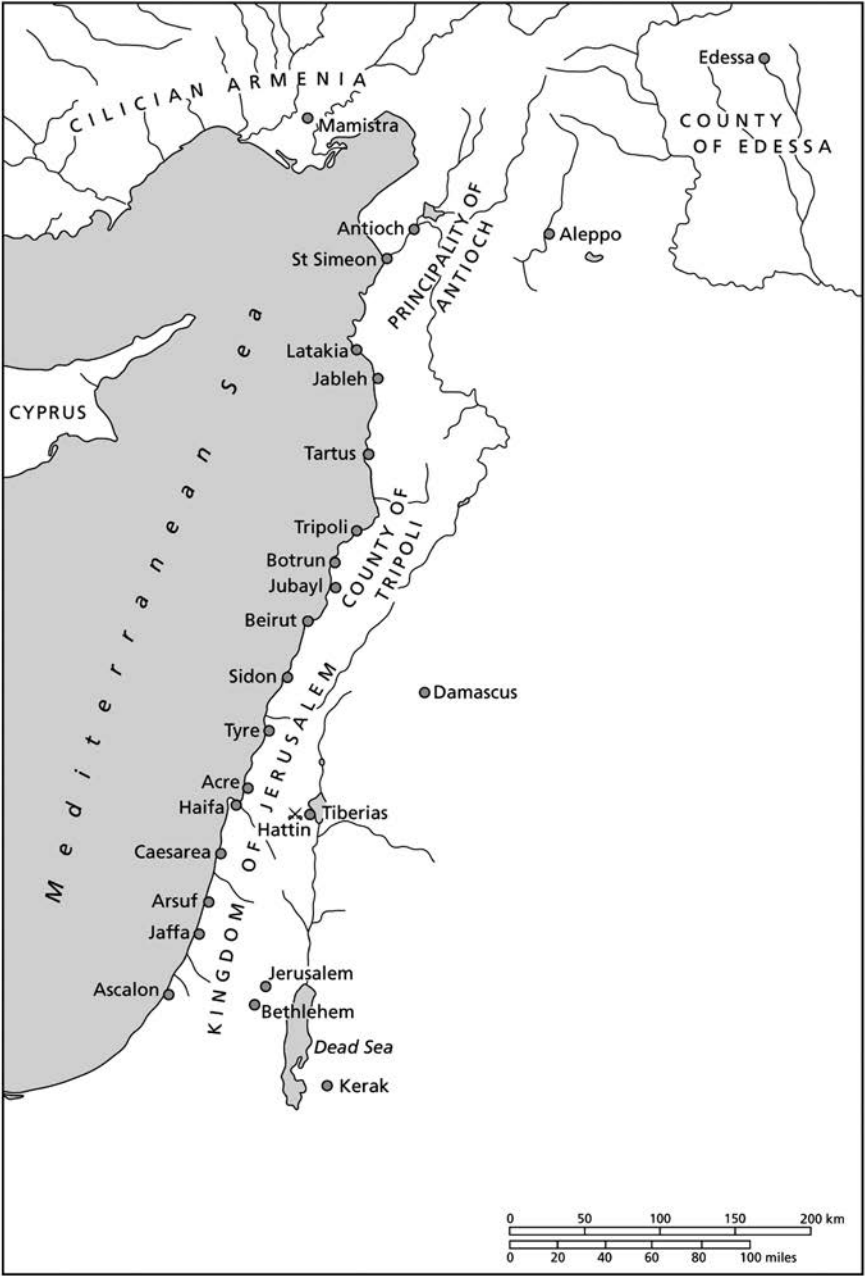
- Guibert Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis* 127A (Turnhout, 1996), translated as *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. R. Levine (Woodbridge, 1997).
- LI *I libri iurium della repubblica di Genova*, eds D. Puncuh, A. Rovere, S. Dellacasa, E. Madia, M. Bibolini, and E. Pallavicino, 9 vols (Rome, 1992–2002), ‘Introduzione’ and vols 1/1, 1/2, 1/6.
- Mayer *Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, ed. H.E. Mayer, 4 vols (Hanover, 2010).
- MGHSS *Monumenta Germaniae Historica [rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi]*.
- Otto of Freising, GF Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici seu rectius cronica*, ed. F.-J. Schmale (Darmstadt, 1965); translated as *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. C.C. Mierow (New York, 1953).
- PL *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne, 217 vols (Paris, 1844–64).
- Recueil *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols (Paris, 1844–95).
- RRH *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, ed. R. Röhrich (Innsbruck, 1893).
- William of Tyre William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, 2 vols, *Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis* 63, 63A (Turnhout, 1986), translated as William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey, 2 vols (New York, 1943).



Map 1 The Mediterranean



Map 2 Genoa and its environs



Map 3 The Latin East

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Introduction: Caffaro of Genoa and the Crusades

The city of Genoa lies at the top of the western ‘half’ of the Mediterranean. Hemmed in by the Ligurian hills and with limited natural resources in its hinterland, the sea offers a more obvious source of prosperity. In the course of the eleventh century Genoa began to emerge as an important trading centre and by the middle of the century it was engaged in commerce across the Mediterranean.¹ Technically the city was subject to the distant authority of the German Empire but in reality there was a tradition of self-government and during the twelfth century it blossomed into a powerhouse of commercial and civic advancement; trade, travel and holy war came, largely via the sea, to the citizens of Genoa. Contact with the Provençal ports, Pisa, Amalfi, Salerno, Sicily, Iberia, North Africa, Byzantium, Egypt and the Latin East meant a multi-layered and, on occasion, contradictory web of political and commercial agreements, some of which are covered here. The city also experienced moments of serious tension with the German Empire while relations with the Pisans, their neighbours and greatest commercial rival, veered between occasional alliances and (the more customary) ferocious hostility. In the course of the twelfth century – a period of Europe-wide economic, political and cultural progress – the city also secured two notable markers of status; its own coinage and an archbishopric. In the person of Caffaro it acquired that rarest of creatures for the age, a secular commentator. Through the eyes of Caffaro and his successors, as well as a rich collection of charter material, we have a vivid testimony of this complex and, at times, unsteady evolution; revealing this to a wider audience is the main purpose of this volume.

The First Crusade holds a special place as a prime driving force in this process of change. This radical event, which infused people across western Europe with an unprecedented desire to join together and to recover the Holy Sepulchre for Christianity had significant repercussions for Genoa. The city was quickly drawn into the crusading movement and this, in turn, would impact upon its relations with the wider world; it changed the terms of engagement with the Muslim lands too. For Caffaro – whose account was endorsed by the consuls and became Genoa’s official history in 1152 – the crusade was a crucial catalyst in the city’s institutional development, its self-regard and its commercial steps forwards.

¹ S.A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958–1528* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1996), pp. 12–28; see also R. Balzaretto, *Dark Age Liguria: Regional Identity and Local Power, c.400–1020* (London, 2013) who also emphasises links between the city and the inland valleys as much as the sea.

To become successful holy warriors on behalf of Christendom, to enhance the city's status and esteem, and to make economic progress were all, as we will see, prominent features within his writings.

Principles of Selection:

This volume contains full translations of the three narratives composed by Caffaro himself, as well as extracts from the first two of his continuators. This enables us to follow the story of Genoa and the crusades from the late eleventh century to the end of the Third Crusade. We have also included the 'Short History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', a text often associated with Caffaro's manuscripts but which was certainly created after his lifetime. Along with these texts we have chosen a series of charters designed to complement the narratives and to help show the range and nature of Genoa's political and commercial involvements.

Biography of Caffaro:

Caffaro di Rustico, Lord of Caschifellone (an area just north of the city) was born c.1080 into a moderately important family descended from the tenth-century viscounts of Genoa.² He was not on the first Genoese fleets that went to the Holy Land in 1097 and 1099 but he did join the ships that sailed to the Levant in the late summer of 1100 and therefore took part in the siege and capture of Caesarea and Arsuf the following year, as well as making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for Easter 1101 where he (eventually) witnessed the miracle of the Easter Fire.

His actions over the next couple of decades are relatively unknown but he evidently became a man of some standing because in 1121 and 1123 he was sent on important missions to Rome (see below, pp. 12–13, 60–61, 103–105). These concerned control of the bishoprics of Corsica, a matter bitterly contested with the Pisans. Perhaps on account of a successful outcome to the first of these journeys he was elected consul *de comuni* (responsible for administration, diplomacy and military leadership) in 1122, the start of no less than six such appointments: 1122, 1125, 1127, 1141, 1146 and 1149. He also served as a consul *de placitis*, or judge of lesser pleas, in 1130 and 1144. He would be used as a diplomat again in 1127 on a mission to the count of Barcelona and most importantly of all he led vital embassies to Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa of Germany in 1154 and 1158. He commanded military campaigns against the Pisans in 1125 and to Minorca in 1146. He died in 1166. In short, therefore, this was a long-lasting career at the

² For a brief biography see: G.P. Balbi, *Caffaro e la cronachistica Genovese* (Genoa, 1982), p. 134; R.D. Face, 'Secular History in Twelfth-Century Italy: Caffaro of Genoa', *Journal of Medieval History*, 6 (1980), pp. 169–84.

heart of civic and international affairs; when one couples this with his interest in writing and recording history we can admire a genuinely remarkable life.

Three years after Caffaro's death the consuls appointed Oberto Cancelliere to resume the work. Oberto 'the chancellor' held this important role for two decades and as a senior city official he was regarded as an appropriate continuator. He lauded the writing of his predecessor and noted the utility of such texts in offering direction for the future. Oberto covered the period from 1164 to 1173; he died in early 1175. Once more there was a pause in the record before a more lowly official, Ottobono Scriba, took over until 1196. His appointment has been characterised as 'the moment that the annals truly became a government record, written by employees of the regime with the purpose of justifying the actions and policies of those in power.'³ Thus a change from Caffaro's more discursive and moralistic tone becomes palpable. After Ottobono the 'Annals' were continued by various writers until 1293 with the archivist and member of a powerful ruling family, Jacopo Doria, covering the final decades of the story. Jacopo was responsible for reviving and preserving the didactic tone of his admired founding father, as we will see below. While the latter century of the 'Annals' is beyond the purview of this work, taken as a whole, from Caffaro to Jacopo Doria, they stand as a unique form of government-endorsed record written by laymen.⁴

Caffaro's Purpose in Writing and the Composition of the Texts:

The 'Annals' of Genoa:

The triumph of the First Crusade in 1099 provoked an unprecedented efflorescence of narrative histories.⁵ Because the capture of Jerusalem was seen as such a miraculous event people across the Latin West felt compelled to record this great achievement, and particularly to represent the deeds of people from their own area. This emotion or trend seems to have influenced Caffaro too because we quickly register a sense of pride in the efforts of his home city. The 'Annals' begin with his comment: 'Whoever, for his own benefit or on behalf of someone else wants to know about earlier years, from the time of the expedition to Caesarea until the present, let him discover and read this record based on Caffaro's recollection... so that the victories of Genoa might be known to men in the future for all time thereafter – the time when they set off in 1100 and returned in 1101.'⁶ It is possible

³ J. Dotson, 'The Genoese Civic Annals: Caffaro and his Continuator', in *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, eds S. Dale, A. Williams Lewin and D.J. Osheim (University Park, PA, 2007), p. 62.

⁴ Dotson, 'Genoese Civic Annals', pp. 55–85.

⁵ J.P. Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (London, 2007), pp. 17–36.

⁶ Caffaro, 'Annals', p. 49.

that during his stay in the Holy Land Caffaro had seen or heard of the texts being produced in the aftermath of the First Crusade and, suitably impressed, thought to create his own account with, quite understandably, Genoa at its centre.⁷ Initially, at least, this was conceived as being for private consumption and over time it evolved into an account of the history of the city. In 1152 he presented it to the commune and the consuls promptly ordered it to be copied and continued for the public record.⁸ 'Since it seems good and useful for past events to be remembered, contemporary happenings to be given consideration, and the future to be anticipated, and likewise the names and deeds of past, present and future consuls of Genoa, and what happened year by year in the city of Genoa, Caffaro started writing them down and making a record of them when he was 20 years old. As is recorded in this book, he has compiled and made note of all this up to the present day.'⁹ In other words, he began to write around 1101. Caffaro sought to give authority to his work by advising the reader of his own high-profile career and his knowledge of, and consultation with, other important figures; he also used documentary evidence as appropriate. It is, however, a serious problem for the modern reader that we have no clear indication of the levels of modification and refinement that Caffaro subjected the 'Annals' to. Thus, do his comments actually reflect ideas from the first decade of the twelfth century, or were they re-formulated in the sixth decade? Given that this was a particularly fertile age in the evolution of crusading ideology our ignorance here is frustrating although we can usefully compare his outlook with other sources. There is also a more basic point that any writer's personality and pre-occupations will probably change over such a long period.

Both in light of Caffaro's own statements and the level of detail for events in the Holy Land, we must suspect some episodes of more intensive note-taking or the creation of a rough version of the text, although for years such as 1114, 1115, 1116 and 1117, or 1131 and 1132, his coverage of events was thin. His style can be characterised as pretty simple, adorned with only a few direct references from the Bible or from the Church Fathers, (and some of these are embedded within the writing of others, such as a letter of Pope Alexander III) and, strikingly, a couple of classical lines, one from Sallust, as well as the flattering comparison of Rainald of Dassel, the imperial chancellor, to Cicero.¹⁰

If it was the First Crusade that inspired a young Caffaro to begin his writing, then by the time he presented the work to the consuls and in the section composed

⁷ J. Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum* and who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 16 (2005), pp. 179–204 discusses the production of texts in Jerusalem at this time.

⁸ As Dotson observed this, in effect, made Caffaro's 'annals the city's authorised version of a crucial period in its history'; 'The Genoese Civic Annals: Caffaro and his continuators', p. 58.

⁹ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 89–90; similar themes are found on pp. 78–79, 93.

¹⁰ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 82, 85–86, 88, 92; for Sallust, pp. 99–100 and n. 211; for the Ciceronian link, see p. 94.

after this date an avowedly didactic purpose had also emerged: ‘But because there is great value in having information about past events, both for understanding the present and forecasting the future, and because both auspicious and inauspicious events took place through the vagaries of fate during this consulate, Caffaro decided to tell the truth, as far as he knew it, to contemporaries and men in the future.’¹¹ As we will see below, the early 1150s were a time of particular difficulty for the city and the idea of looking back to past successes may have been especially attractive at this point. For Genoa, the call of the First Crusade prompted a sworn association of urban elites and this provided the impetus for subsequent communal organisation. Campopiano shows that, unlike the situation in Pisa and Milan, the Church in Genoa had a relatively low profile in this process. It was a secular elite that emerged in Genoa and, through the writings of Caffaro, the place created its unique historical culture.¹² With the city in dire economic straits in the mid-twelfth century the ‘Annals’ reminded people that both the consuls and crusading had achieved great things while the divisions of the present were to be ended and harmony restored.¹³

Such worthy thoughts aside, we might observe that Caffaro sometimes passed over the less positive aspects of the Genoese story; didactic elements notwithstanding, this was hardly the place to describe major setbacks. In taking such an approach he was (and is) hardly unique – William of Tyre, his near-contemporary and an author often held up as a serious (and self-proclaimed) historian of the age was certainly culpable of such practices. Thus, William concealed the considerable tensions between the recently-arrived King Fulk of Jerusalem (formerly Count Fulk V of Anjou) and the native nobility of the Holy Land behind a story of Queen Melisende’s alleged infidelity. Similarly, William’s account of King Amalric’s visit to Emperor Manuel Komnenos (1143–80) in 1171 consists of a long description of the king’s stay in Constantinople but omits the crucial, albeit embarrassing, likelihood that he had to pay homage to the Greek emperor.¹⁴ With regard to an assessment of Caffaro’s reliability we can often draw

¹¹ Caffaro, ‘Annals’, p. 72.

¹² M. Campopiano, ‘The Problems of Origins in Early Communal Historiography: Pisa, Genoa, and Milan Compared’, in *Medieval Urban Literacy*, eds M. Mostert and A. Adamska, 2 vols, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 27–28, forthcoming.

¹³ J. Dotson, ‘Caffaro, Crusade, and the *Annales Januensis*: History and its Uses in Twelfth-Century Genoa’, in *Shipping, Trade and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of John Pryor*, eds R. Gertwagen and E. Jeffreys (Farnham, 2012), pp. 271–88. Also see below, pp. 18–19.

¹⁴ On William as an historian see: William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, 2 vols, continuous pagination, *Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis* 63, 63A (Turnhout, 1986), pp. 97–101, for the struggle between Fulk and Melisende, see pp. 651–56 and for the 1171 visit to Constantinople, pp. 940–46; translated as: William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey, 2 vols (New York, 1943), vol. 2, pp. 153–59, 270–76, 377–83. P.W. Edbury and J.G. Rowe, *William*

upon the evidence of other writers to confirm or contradict his perspective and, as presented here, we have a selection of Genoese charters too. Such documents were available to Caffaro and he occasionally made reference to them in his texts; they can be used to supplement some of his comments, such as the long-running commercial dispute with the kings of Jerusalem; they can also provide another side to his account when, as noted above, he chose to be less forthcoming than he could have been. Examples of this concern the situation in Genoa in the early 1150s (see below, pp. 71–72).

Main Concerns of the ‘Annals’:

Several prominent themes emerge in the course of the ‘Annals’, beginning with the First Crusade. The issue of Italian trading cities’ involvement in the crusades is a much-discussed topic and many writers have expressed scepticism about the level of their spiritual motivation; Byrne, for example, wrote: ‘it would almost seem to them... [that] the crusade was a matter of indifference except as it affected their material prosperity’.¹⁵ More recently, however, authors such as Bellomo and Marshall have countered that we should give due notice to their religiosity and this is a line of argument further supported here.¹⁶

Unlike *De liberatione civitatum orientis* (see below) the ‘Annals’ contain no discussion of the origins of the First Crusade or the capture of Jerusalem.

of Tyre: *Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 75–6, 80–82. For Amalric’s visit to Constantinople, see J.P. Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations Between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 208–13. The *Brevis Historia* described this visit too, see below, p. 157.

¹⁵ E.H. Byrne, ‘Genoese Trade with Syria in the Twelfth Century’, *American Historical Review*, 25 (1919–20), p. 193. Haywood, in his history of Pisa, described the city’s involvement in the Holy Land as ‘for the most part, a sordid chronicle of commercialism and greed’. W. Haywood, *A History of Pisa* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 115–16. ‘Trade – at least in the case of the Genoese, Venetians and Pisans, the shrewdest money-makers of the age, was a primary motivation in the venture [crusading].’ P.K. Hitti, ‘The Impact of the Crusades on Moslem Lands’, in *A History of the Crusades V*, eds N.P. Zacour and H.W. Hazard (Madison WI, 1985), p. 38. Events in the thirteenth century did much to shape this reputation as outlined by S. Schein, ‘From “*Milites Christi*” to “*Mali Christiani*”. The Italian Communes in Western Historical Literature’, *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme. Atti del Colloquio di Gerusalemme, 24–28 maggio 1984*, eds G. Airaldi and B.Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), pp. 681–89.

¹⁶ This will be developed further in a forthcoming article by Jonathan Phillips, ‘Caffaro of Genoa and the Motives of the Early Crusaders’, in *Religion as an Agent for Change*, ed. P. Ingesman (Leiden, 2014). See also E. Bellomo, *A servizio di dio e del santo sepolcro: Caffaro e l’Oriente latino* (Padua, 2003); C. Marshall, ‘The Crusading Motivation of the Italian City Republics in the Latin East, 1096–1104’, in *The Experience of Crusading, Volume 1: Western Approaches*, eds M.G. Bull and N. Housley, 2 vols (Cambridge 2003), pp. 60–79.

Instead, the story plunges straight into the events that involved Genoa, perhaps reflecting the fact that the piece was originally written for Caffaro's own benefit. The narrative begins with the departure of a Genoese fleet in August 1100. The situation in the Holy Land was difficult because the ruler of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon, had died on 18 July 1100 and Prince Bohemond I of Antioch had been captured by Turks in August 1100. According to Caffaro, it was the Genoese, along with the papal legate Maurizio, cardinal-bishop of Porto, who took a central (if uncorroborated) role in the selection of their replacements. Count Baldwin I of Edessa received a promise of Genoese help to capture further Muslim cities and, trusting in God and the Ligurians, he began this task. These campaigns proved vital in the conquest of the Levant because the Franks' grip on the region was tenuous, at best. While they had a number of important strongholds, such as Antioch and Jerusalem, many other cities remained in Muslim hands and it was essential for the Christians to consolidate their position. Securing the coastal cities was a priority because it provided a means for crusaders, pilgrims and settlers to reach and to defend the holy places; it would also promote trade – in other words a combination of factors that would attract the Genoese.¹⁷

Caffaro recounted these campaigns in terms conventional for the age: thus Baldwin was 'God's warrior' fighting the Turks, 'the enemies of God'. Caffaro also noted that the Genoese celebrated the holy offices of Palm Sunday and prepared to fight and 'to serve God and the kingdom of Jerusalem.'¹⁸ This phrase of serving God and a secular institution (acknowledging that the kingdom of Jerusalem was a very unique 'secular' institution) was a formulation that Caffaro would later apply to his own city too.

A highly significant section of the 'Annals' is Caffaro's eye-witness description – the most detailed to survive – of Jerusalem's principal liturgical ceremony of the year and one that attracted particular attention from the Frankish settlers and western pilgrims; namely, the miracle of the Holy Fire, a tradition created by Eastern Christians and first related by a western pilgrim in 870.¹⁹ On Easter Saturday worshippers of all denominations packed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and after a lengthy service all the lights in the building were extinguished. The faithful waited for one of the lamps in front of the sepulchre itself to re-ignite spontaneously, a miracle that symbolised the Resurrection. The fire was then taken to the patriarch

¹⁷ The same points applied to the Pisans and the Venetians too; for their involvement in the Latin East at this time, see M-L. Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1098–1197)* (Amsterdam, 1989), pp. 43–110; D. Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (London, 2011), pp. 291–94; M. Balard, 'Communes Italiennes, pouvoir et habitants des États Francs de Syrie-Palestine au xii^e siècle', in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth Century Syria*, ed. M. Shatzmiller (Leiden, 1993), pp. 43–64.

¹⁸ Caffaro, 'Annals', p. 51.

¹⁹ See D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1993–2009), vol. 3, pp. 10, 15–16.

who lit his candle from the flame and this was passed from person to person and gradually the entire church filled with light. But in 1101, as the contemporary writer Fulcher of Chartres confirmed, in spite of repeated efforts to invoke God's favour, this did not happen for a day and a night.²⁰ Legate Maurizio's sermon identified a lack of belief amongst the audience and he advised that a procession to the Temple might secure God's approval. The king, the patriarch and other dignitaries duly complied but once back at the Holy Sepulchre two further failures occurred, only at the third attempt did a light appear and this 'great miracle' delighted them all. Caffaro then went on pilgrimage to the River Jordan.²¹ Thus, through their participation in Easter Week and a visit to the Jordan we can see Caffaro and the Genoese as entirely conventional pilgrims and crusaders.

The description of the siege of Caesarea gives an intriguing insight into Caffaro's perception of the expedition. He included a (purported) conversation between the Muslim leaders and Patriarch Daimbert and Maurizio.²² Such 'set-piece' exchanges are a regular feature of crusading texts and can be noted, for example, in the *Gesta Francorum* of the First Crusade; the Anonymous Monk of the Lido's *Translatio sancti Nicolai* of 1116 and *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (The Conquest of Lisbon) from the siege of Lisbon in 1147.²³ The strict accuracy of these pieces is dubious, but one theme to emerge across the three accounts noted here is that of a Muslim challenging the motives of Christian warriors or, to put it more directly, a need to justify or to explain Christian holy war. Kedar has observed that comments supposedly made by the Muslim elders at Lisbon were

²⁰ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana, 1095–1127*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 394–96; translated as *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127*, ed. H.S. Fink, tr. F.R. Ryan. (Knoxville, TN, 1969), p. 151. Note also the eye-witness account of Ekkehard of Aura, *Frutolfi et Ekkehardi chronica necnon anonymi chronica imperatorum*, (ed. and trans.) F.-J. Schmale and I. Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt, 1972), pp. 176–79, as well as the comments in Bartolf of Nangis, *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, historiens occidentaux*, vol.3 (Paris, 1866), pp. 523–26; Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis* 75A (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 342–43; translated as, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, tr. R. Levine (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 160–61. Our thanks to Dr Susan Edgington for this information.

²¹ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 51–53.

²² G. Airaldi, 'Memorie di un cavaliere Caffaro', *Crusades*, 2 (2003), pp. 34–39.

²³ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. R. Hill and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1962), pp. 53–56; Anonymous Monk of the Lido, *Historia de translatione sanctorum magni Nicolai terra marique miraculis gloriosi...*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, historiens occidentaux*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1885), pp. 275–77; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (The Conquest of Lisbon), ed. and trans. C.W. David, with a new introduction by J.P. Phillips (New York, 2001), pp. 114–25, 130–33, 182–85. E. Bellomo, 'The First Crusade and the Latin East as Seen from Venice: The Account of the *Translatio sancti Nicolai*', *Early Medieval Europe*, 17 (2007), pp. 420–43.

perfectly in line with Islam's questioning of the basic tenets of Christianity.²⁴ As a member of a Mediterranean trading community Caffaro would certainly have had contact with Muslims during his career, although whether that extended to much real understanding of the Islamic faith is unknown. The Muslim leader at Caesarea asked how Christians could kill people 'with the appearance of your God'. The patriarch acknowledged this was a reasonable question but he countered with the point that Christians had been unlawfully expelled from Caesarea and he claimed the crusade was a matter of recovering what was rightfully theirs. In other words, he outlined a fairly standard justification for holy war. He argued that killing those hostile to the law of God was proper and cited Deuteronomy 32.39 in support of this; he also promised to let live those who submitted immediately.²⁵ Another way of looking at this passage is to see it as a reflection of the novelty of crusading around 1100–1101 and as a wish to explain its ethics and theology; in any case, Caffaro's text showed how such principles had permeated the thoughts and writings of a layman.

Following this, the patriarch called the Genoese crusaders to hear a sermon, an entirely customary pre-battle event.²⁶ Daimbert urged the crusaders to confess, to take communion and then to scale the walls; if they did so, he prophesied, they would acquire the city, its men, women and treasure; statements in direct contradiction to Urban II's decrees at Clermont that instructed the crusaders to journey 'for devotion alone and not for honour or money'.²⁷ We might suspect that Caffaro had tailored his account here to fit subsequent Genoese pleasure at securing spiritual as well as monetary advantage. Yet surely such promises – not to the exclusion of religious rewards – motivated some crusaders. For laymen across the West the hope of financial reward was one of many elements that drove them forwards; at the very least, given the expense of crusading, they would not, or could not, spurn such prizes entirely.

Stephen of Blois provides a secular, northern French, example. When, in March 1098, he wrote home to his wife Adela the count was proud to talk of 'the army of Christ', of Christ's leadership of the army and (several times) of the divine favour received by the crusading forces. Yet he also delighted in more worldly good fortune: 'Know for sure, my love, that I now have twice as much

²⁴ B.Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches towards the Muslims* (Princeton, NJ, 1984), pp. 85–96.

²⁵ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 53–54; H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Christianity and the Morality of Warfare during the First Century of Crusading', in *The Experience of Crusading, Volume I: Western Approaches*, eds M.G. Bull and N. Housley, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 175–92; F.H. Russell, *Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1975).

²⁶ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 54–55; B. Bachrach, 'Conforming with the Rhetorical Tradition of Plausibility: Clerical Representations of Battlefield Orations against Muslims, 1080–1170', *International History Review*, 26 (2004), pp. 1–19.

²⁷ Canons of the Council of Clermont, trans. in L. and J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1274* (London, 1981), p. 37.

gold, silver and other riches as you gave me, my love, when I took leave of you.' In a similar vein, in 1147, the bishops of Toledo and León offered crusaders at Almería remission of their sins and 'prizes of silver... and all the gold which the Moors possess'.²⁸

Many Church writers warned against greed, although where to draw the line between appropriate reward and excess was difficult. This was a matter covered by the canon lawyer Gratian (c.1140) who indicated that the spoils of war went to the victorious leader who would distribute them to his soldiers according to their efforts. Based on the sermon of John the Baptist to the Roman soldiers, Gratian argued that it was acceptable for troops to receive legitimate and necessary wages for their services, but condemned seeking booty for private gain. Thus, it was permissible, as well as practical, to make payment from a centrally gathered fund – exactly as the Genoese crusaders did in 1101.²⁹ The Old Testament included several references to the combination of fighting the Lord's wars and obtaining booty, stories that the Genoese clergy would have been familiar with. For example, in II Chronicles 14, 9–15, King Asa of Judah defeated the Ethiopians, despoiled their cities and lands and seized an abundant quantity of moveable goods.³⁰

We have to differentiate between the strict ecclesiastical theory of Urban II and the aspirations of laymen such as Caffaro and Stephen of Blois. These latter sources demonstrate a combination of motives and a sense of reality, a viewpoint recognised by some churchmen such as the bishops of León and Toledo noted above. From a lay perspective, why should crusaders of proper moral direction not enrich themselves at the expense of the enemies of Christ? The outcome of warfare was determined by the providence of God. A decade before the First Crusade, Anselm of Lucca, credited as being one of the prime thinkers behind Christian holy war, wrote to William the Conqueror and ascribed the reward of riches won after strong deeds as being granted by God.³¹

²⁸ Letter of Stephen of Blois, March 1098, in H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes* (Innsbruck, 1901), no.10, p. 149; translated in *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, tr. M.C. Barber and K. Bate, Crusade Texts in Translation 18 (Farnham, 2010), p. 22; *Prefatio de Almaria*, in *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XII*, ed. J. Gil, *Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis* 71/1 (Turnhout, 1990), p. 256; trans. S. Barton and R.A. Fletcher, *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest* (Manchester, 2000), p. 251.

²⁹ Gratian, 'Decretum', in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. A. Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1879–81), vol. 1, *Causa* 23, *quaestio* 1, *capitula* 2, 4–6, cols 891–93; Russell, *Just War in the Middle Ages*, pp. 61, 71. W.G. Zajac, 'Captured Property on the First Crusade', in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. J.P. Phillips (Manchester, 1997), pp. 153–180; Caffaro, 'Annals', p. 56.

³⁰ See also II *Chronicles* 20:20–25. Our thanks to Professor Bernard Hamilton for these references.

³¹ Cited in Cowdrey, 'Christianity and the Morality of Warfare', p. 180.

Outside Caesarea Guglielmo Embriaco ('Hammerhead') the Genoese consul and military leader of the campaign exhorted his troops to act.³² The initial attack faltered and so Guglielmo prayed for help. He then climbed a tower, wrestled aside a Saracen and was able to signal to his colleagues that the wall could now be taken. The Genoese 'wearing the cross on their right shoulders' swarmed into the city and took the booty and prisoners promised to them by Patriarch Daimbert; all this was achieved 'with God's help'.³³ The Genoese combination of wearing the crusaders' most iconic symbol and securing a divine response to their prayers fits alongside mainstream crusading accounts. The issue of secular rewards plainly did not remove spiritual motivation as Byrne (note 15 above) crudely assumed. In other words, the Genoese saw themselves as crusaders, their contemporaries saw them as crusaders, and modern readers should recognise them as such. After the battle ended the Ligurians were awarded privileges and a church dedicated to St Lawrence, the patron saint of Genoa. As Caffaro observed: 'the name of Jesus Christ was adored and worshipped while the diabolical name of Muhammad has been expelled from the city', a rare example of explicitly anti-Muslim rhetoric in his text.³⁴

In the aftermath of these successes Caffaro described the division of booty: one fifteenth went to the crews, a 'substantial' amount to the consuls, sea captains and 'men of quality'; the remainder each received 48 *solidi* of Poitou and 2 *librae* of pepper. Pepper was, of course, a luxury item; presumably the crusaders had come across a storehouse full of the spice and because of its high value they regarded it as appropriate to distribute as a form of payment. After this the Genoese returned home 'in triumph and covered in glory' – a succinct statement of Caffaro's ideal blend of civic, spiritual and economic achievement.³⁵

Over the next few years Levantine campaigns saw the capture of Tartus (1102), Acre (1104), Jubayl (1104), Tripoli (1109) and Beirut (1110). These victories, along with the earlier conquest of Antioch, meant that the Genoese secured a variety of territorial and economic rights, as detailed in the charters below, (see for example, **Documents 1, 2 and 3**). But, as emerges from Caffaro's narrative, being granted such rights was not necessarily the same thing as being able to enforce or to maintain them.

³² For a profile of Guglielmo and the context in which he operated see especially G. Airal di, *Blu come il mare: Guglielmo e la saga degli Embriaci*, 2nd ed. (Genoa, 2006), esp. pp. 90–100. In the absence of much hard evidence, Airal di has ingeniously assembled and interpreted such clues as there are to support an aristocratic and international genealogy, worthy of the man she, and arguably Caffaro, cast in the role of founding hero of the Genoese commune and prototype for the dynastic families spanning the Middle East and Europe. Note also F. Cardini, 'Profilo di un crociato Guglielmo Embriaco', *Archivio storico Italiano*, 136 (1978), pp. 405–36.

³³ Caffaro, 'Annals', p. 55.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³⁵ *Ibid.* For pepper as a unit of credit, see Abulafia, *Great Sea*, pp. 245, 270, 296.

Aside from crusading, one of the most prominent aspects of Genoese history in this period was the rivalry – and often outright warfare – with neighbouring Pisa, just over 100 miles south-east down the coast. Back in the eleventh century the two cities had worked together in a raid on Sardinia (1016) and then helped to resist Muslim efforts to seize the island. The Italians also took part in the conquest of Mahdia in North Africa in 1087.³⁶ By the early twelfth century political and economic competition had intensified. This came to manifest itself in open warfare (1119), encompassing a savage dispute over the bishoprics of Corsica, and wider control of such an important commercial base. A series of papal rulings gave the Pisans the right to consecrate Corsican bishops, something that was to the detriment of the Genoese and, so the latter claimed, to the standing of the Roman Church. In late 1120 Caffaro himself was dispatched to Rome to try to ‘encourage’ a change of heart by the *curia*, although the chronicler chose to omit this story from his work, preferring perhaps to slip past an episode that was not especially flattering to anyone involved. A copy of the agreement that resulted from this visit was, however, preserved in the city archive and this offers a detailed account of events (see below, pp. 103–105).³⁷

Once at the papal court Caffaro began to advance his city’s case; he also promised to bring 1200 silver marks to Pope Calixtus II (1119–24) and 300 marks to other members of the *curia* before 11 November 1121; he distributed 500 marks immediately. In return the Pisan privileges were withdrawn (3 January 1121) and it was decreed that the bishops of Corsica should be consecrated by the Roman church alone. Caffaro then dispensed other generous gifts to various cardinals, bishops and the important and influential aristocrats of Rome, including an emerald to the wife of Peter Pierleoni (the Pierleoni were an important Roman family).³⁸ This represented an enormous expenditure and, to a modern reader, seems an outrageous move; ‘proof’ of the stereotypical grasping, money-obsessed Italian traders. In fact, it was the papacy who required such ‘blessings’, and several contemporary parallels exist. For example, Archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Compostela sent the *curia* numerous gifts of gold, silver and precious objects in return for a variety of titles, privileges and confirmations between 1117 and 1130. Robinson suggests that payments of this sort had become necessary to cover the substantial running expenses of the papal court.³⁹ With regard to Caffaro’s situation it seems that the decree of 1121 did not settle the dispute and so Calixtus

³⁶ H.E.J. Cowdrey, ‘The Mahdia Campaign of 1087’, *English Historical Review*, 92 (1977), pp. 1–29. On Pisa also see: Heywood, *A History of Pisa*.

³⁷ See also M. Stroll, *Calixtus II (1119–1124): A Pope Born to Rule* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 301–12.

³⁸ I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 8–11, 65–70.

³⁹ Robinson, *The Papacy*, pp. 264–66. On the episodes involving Diego Gelmírez in particular, see also R.A. Fletcher, *Saint James’s Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 196–221.

asked representatives of both Genoa and Pisa to attend the First Lateran Council in March 1123. Caffaro was again involved and this time, for reasons that will become apparent, he was pleased to report the meeting in some detail. The main body of cardinals and the other churchmen failed to reach a decision so Calixtus set up a panel of 24 senior churchmen to resolve the matter; they ruled that Pisa should lose the right to consecrate the bishops of Corsica, a judgement confirmed by the pope. Caffaro, with evident relish, related that Archbishop Roger of Pisa hurled his ring and mitre at Calixtus' feet and shouted that he would no longer be his bishop and archbishop – only for the pope to kick the objects away and respond: 'Brother, you have done wrong and I shall certainly make sure you regret it.' The ruling in Genoa's favour stood and Caffaro could return home and report his success to a plenary meeting of the city's senior figures; modestly he commented that the transactions had been handled with 'prudence and rectitude.'⁴⁰

Needless to say this was not the end of the matter and the troubles with Pisa escalated. Raids and naval battles took place in which the Genoese generally had the upper hand and often returned with a considerable amount of booty. Broader religious and political matters began to draw in the Ligurians too and given the realities of geography it was inevitable that the city became engaged in the schism of the 1130s between Pope Innocent II and his challenger, Anacletus II. The Genoese backed the former and he helped to broker a peace agreement with Pisa on 20 March 1133. That same day Innocent rewarded the Genoese by granting the city the status of an archbishopric which represented another important advance in its standing and identity.⁴¹

Aside from local and international events the 'Annals' can also tell us much about the internal development of Genoa. As well as listing the names of the consuls we can see how the office itself evolved in terms of the number of office-holders and the division of responsibility between the two forms of consul: those who controlled the city, and the consuls of the pleas who dealt with lesser justice. The text vividly reveals the violence within Genoa as various factions and families tried to establish their dominance; at times levels of criminality were worryingly high. It seems that (especially) from the 1150s onwards periods of acute unrest frequently formed a prominent aspect of urban life. In 1187 one of the consuls *di comuni*, Anglerio de Mare, was murdered in the street, the following year, Ingone della Volta was bludgeoned to death with a rock. Yet on some occasions, such as

⁴⁰ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 60–61.

⁴¹ M. Stroll, *The Jewish Pope* (Leiden, 1987); M.R. Tessera, 'Orientalia Ecclesia: The Papal Schism of 1130 and the Latin Church of the Crusader States', *Crusades*, 9 (2010), pp. 7–11; V. Polonio, 'San Bernardo, Genova e Pisa', *San Bernardo e l'Italia. Atti del Convegno di studi, Milano, 24–26 maggio 1990*, ed. P. Zerbi, *Bibliotheca erudita* 8 (Milan, 1993), pp. 66–99; Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 61–64.

the launch of the First Crusade and in the early stages of the Third Crusade, plans to help the Holy Land brought at least a temporary end to these troubles.⁴²

A further governmental issue was the coinage (see also, pp. 47–48 below). This was reformed in 1102 and 1115 before, most significantly, the city was granted the right to mint its own coins by King Conrad III of Germany (1138–52) in December 1138, in itself a rare glimpse of some form of imperial overlordship prior to the more interventionist reign of his successor Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1152–90).⁴³ Caffaro recorded ecclesiastical matters too, such as the consecration of the church of San Lorenzo as a cathedral by Pope Gelasius II (1118–19) in October 1118 and the death of the long-lasting (1133–63) Archbishop Siro who merited a generous encomium.⁴⁴

A striking feature of this period of Genoese history was the spread of its trading network, often into areas under Muslim control. On occasion this was extended by forceful means, such as the attack on Bugia in North Africa in 1137, at other times it took the form of a diplomatic approach including the non-aggression pact with Morocco of 1138 or the peace and trade treaty with the king of Valencia in 1149 (see **Documents 4** and **9**). Evidence also shows Genoese merchants visiting Damascus in 1156.⁴⁵ Given the inherent tensions between this commercial activity and the emerging idea of the crusade it is interesting to see Caffaro's language in these situations. During the eleventh century the Genoese had traded with (for example) Cairo and Alexandria, but they had also fought Muslims at Mahdia in North Africa and Tortosa in Spain.⁴⁶ Caffaro's entry for 1101 shows that he regarded these latter two conflicts as part of the same struggle as the First Crusade, yet the harsh edge to some of his language in the crusade situation (most notably in the aftermath of the capture of Caesarea in 1101, p. 56 below) did not mean that all Muslims were enemies of Genoa and that it was no longer possible to trade with them. His accounts of the missions to Valencia and Morocco in 1160–61 simply give the name or title of those with whom the Genoese were engaged such as Lupus (either Yusuf ibn Mardanish, who governed Valencia, or his superior

⁴² For examples of tension and violence, see: Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 90–91, 100; Oberto Cancelliere, 'Annals', p. 138.. For the emergence of the consuls, see Epstein, pp. 31–37, for the violence in the city, *Ibid.*, pp. 80–87.

⁴³ On the coinage reforms, see Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 57, 58, 66. Note also A. Stahl, 'Genova e Venezia, la moneta dal XII al XIV secolo', in *Genova, Venezia, il Levante nei secoli XII–XIV*, eds G. Ortalli and D. Puncuh (Venice, 2001), pp. 319–34.

⁴⁴ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 58, 100–101; C. Di Fabio, *La cattedrale di Genova nel medioevo, secoli vi–xiv* (Genoa, 1988), pp. 50–59.

⁴⁵ D. Jacoby, 'The Economic Function of the Crusader States of the Levant: A New Approach', in *Europe's Economic Relations with the Islamic World, 13th–18th Centuries*, S. Cavaciocchi (Florence, 2007), p. 183.

⁴⁶ For Alexandria, see the evidence in Caffaro, *LCO*, pp. 107–108; B.Z. Kedar, 'Mercanti Genovesi in Alessandria d'Egitto negli anni sessanta del secolo XI', in *Miscellanea di studi storici II*, ed. G. Pistarino (Genoa, 1983), pp. 21–30.

and brother, Ibn Mardanish, who was the ruler of the whole Levante region, the central-eastern section of Iberia), and the king of the Almohads (Caliph ‘Abd al-Mu’min). Caffaro’s continuators, Oberto Cancelliere and Ottobono Scriba, noted further missions to Morocco in 1169 and 1170 and the conclusion of a twenty-year peace with the Muslim ruler of Majorca in 1188.⁴⁷

The advent of the crusades could not end commerce with the world of Islam.⁴⁸ For a trading city such as Genoa, to cease dealing with Muslims would have been economic suicide. Self-evidently, however, holy war could produce tensions; for example, in 1103, the arrest of all the Genoese in Cairo showed Fatimid awareness of the commune’s importance in the conquest of the Latin East and this crackdown presumably represented an effort to punish them.⁴⁹ Yet Genoese merchants returned to Egypt and a letter from the 1130s describes travels inland from Alexandria.⁵⁰ At times the Genoese themselves chose to hamper Muslim power. In 1151 the consuls banned unlicensed trade in oars, spears, timber for constructing galleys, or weapons. This could be interpreted as a measure to preserve their control over such activities but the closing phrase that the consuls did so ‘because they recognise that this is our duty to God, to the whole of Christendom and to the commune of Genoa’, signals a religious aspect to the decision as well (See **Document 10**). The issue of dealing in materials of war could represent a line between the two faiths and periodically the papacy, presumably on behalf of the Latin East, tried to prevent this. Decrees of the Third Lateran Council of 1179 (possibly echoing earlier legislation from 1162) banned the sale of arms, naval timber and iron to the Muslims. At times, this boundary was crossed; a document from the Fatimid chancery shows a Genoese merchant trading timber in Cairo in the early twelfth

⁴⁷ Caffaro, ‘Annals’, pp. 90–91. Oberto Cancelliere, ‘Annals’, pp. 141–142; Ottobono Scriba, ‘Annals’, pp. 145–46. H. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (Harlow, 1996), pp. 200–215, 222, 224; P. Guichard, *Les musulmans de Valence et la reconquête (xie-xiiiè siècles)*, 2 vols (Damascus, 1990–91), vol. 1, pp. 110, 116–17. According to Airaldi, *Annali*, p. 122, n. 76. ‘Lupus’ was the king of Valencia, Ibn Mardanish who ruled the Levante until 1172. His brother, Yusuf, was governor of Valencia until 1186. We suggest that ‘Lupus’ (‘wolf’) may be a pejorative corruption of his name and that Caffaro means him, rather than Ibn Mardanish. See below, **Document 9** which sets out the terms agreed in 1149 for Genoa’s trading relations with Valencia.

⁴⁸ For a tremendous exposition on the complex relationship between a Christian, crusading, trading city and the Muslim world, see: M. Campopiano, ‘La culture pisane et le monde arabo-musulman: entre connaissance réelle et héritage livresque’, in *Bien dire et bien apprendre: revue de médiévistique 26: Un exotisme littéraire médiéval*, ed. C. Gaulier-Bougassas (2008), pp. 81–95.

⁴⁹ S.D. Gotein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 6 vols, *Volume 1: Economic Foundations* (Berkeley, CA, 1967), vol. 1, p. 45.

⁵⁰ D. Jacoby, ‘Diplomacy, Trade, Shipping and Espionage between Byzantium and Egypt in the Twelfth Century’, *Polypleuros nous. Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, *Byzantinisches Archiv* 19, eds G. Scholz and G. Makris (Munich and Leipzig, 2000), pp. 84–86.

century. It seems that by 1175 the earlier ban had been lifted because Saladin could claim to the caliph of Baghdad that the Genoese, Pisans and Venetians were delivering arms and riches to him (see below, p. 18 for the text of this letter). Perhaps it was this situation that prompted the legislation of the Third Lateran Council.⁵¹

The specific issue of war materials aside we can see from a list of tithes owed to the archbishop of Genoa in 1143 that the city was engaged in trade with Muslim Egypt, the western Maghreb ('Barbaria'), Africa, Tunis, Bugia and Almería, as well as numerous Christian ports in the Latin East and Byzantium, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Calabria, Provence and Iberia.⁵² The most dramatic indication of the extent and volume of trade is in material surviving from the remarkable cartulary of Giovanni Scriba, a document which still contains over 1,300 acts from the years 1154 to 1164. This is the oldest surviving collection of its sort in Europe and it shows a sophisticated commercial world at work, although given its unique nature we cannot confirm how representative it truly is; furthermore, it is clearly incomplete, and omits northern Europe, for example. That said, it is impossible to ignore such rich evidence and as the tables show, the most valuable markets for the Genoese were Syria (meaning the Latin East) and Alexandria.⁵³

⁵¹ S.M. Stern, 'An Original Document from the Fatimid Chancery concerning Italian Merchants', in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, 2 vols (Rome 1956), vol. 2, pp. 529–38; D. Jacoby, 'The Supply of War Materials to Egypt in the Crusader Period', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 25 (2001), pp. 102–32, especially pp. 107–9; *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. N.P. Tanner (New York, 1990), 1.223.

⁵² *Registrum curiae archiepiscopalis Ianuae*, ed. L.T. Belgrano, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* (1872), vol. 2, pt 2, pp. 9–10; see also Epstein, pp. 25–27; H.C. Krueger, 'Genoese Trade with Northwest Africa in the Twelfth Century', *Speculum*, 8 (1933), pp. 377–95. For an overview of Genoa's involvement with Barcelona, see S.P. Bensch, *Barcelona and its Rulers, 1096–1291* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 223–32. For a wider perspective see A. Dupont, *Les relations commerciales entre les cités maritimes de Languedoc et les cités Méditerranéennes d'Espagne et d'Italie du x au xiii siècle* (Nîmes, 1942), pp. 76–82.

⁵³ The tables are taken from E. Bach, *La cité de Gênes au xii siècle* (Copenhagen, 1955), pp. 50–57. See also D. Abulafia, *The Two Italies: Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 96–122; Epstein, pp. 55–62. Fragmentary figures for 1182, 1184 and 1186 from the registers of Oberto de Mercato also survive, with dealings with Ceuta in North Africa, Sicily and Majorca at the top of the first two lists while (in value) Syria, Sicily, Constantinople and Ceuta head that of 1186. *Ibid.*, pp. 158–69.

Number of Contracts		Value: (lire/librae)
North Africa	73	L6,103
Spain	17	
Southern France	17	
Sicily	84	L6,689
Sardinia	14	
Salerno	9	
Central and N. Italy	9	
Alexandria	58	L9,031
Syria	34	L10,075
Byzantine Empire	20	L2,007

On the surface this commercial relationship with the Muslim world can look like the Italians putting money before religion. Such dealings seem a long way from the militant rhetoric of the accounts of First Crusade sermons written in northern France or the strident criticism of Islam produced by some twelfth-century writers. Aside from the impracticality of ceasing to trade, real life in the Mediterranean area was, of course, far more complicated than crusade sermons allowed for – as Caffaro’s writings reveal. The twelfth-century kingdom of Sicily, for example, was a polyglot society of Christians, Muslims and Jews. The Muslim and Christian worlds were both highly fragmented with each containing multiple political and denominational groups, while there are numerous examples of treaties and alliances between parties of opposing faiths throughout the period and across the Mediterranean region.⁵⁴ The Latin States themselves could not have survived without trade with the Muslim hinterland as Ekkehard of Aura observed when writing about the reign of Godfrey of Bouillon: ‘he maintained firm peace with Ascalon and Damascus for the sake of commerce...’.⁵⁵

Similarly the markets of Alexandria were pleased to welcome Frankish traders. Ibn Jubayr, a Spanish Muslim pilgrim who passed through the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1184 (in other words at a time of mounting tension between Saladin and the Franks) wrote with astonishment that ‘though the fires of discord burn between the two parties, Muslim and Christian, two armies of them may yet meet and dispose themselves in battle array, and yet Muslim and Christian travellers

⁵⁴ M. A. Köhler, trans. P.M. Holt, revised, edited and introduced by K. Hirschler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East: Cross-Cultural Diplomacy in the Period of the Crusades* (Leiden, 2013); H. Dajani-Shakeel, ‘Diplomatic Relations between Muslim and Frankish Rulers, 1097–1153 A.D.’, in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth Century Syria*, ed. M. Shatzmiller (Leiden, 1993), pp. 190–215.

⁵⁵ Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronica*, pp. 158–59. Our thanks to Dr Simon John for this reference.

will come and go between them without interference.' Ibn Jubayr himself sailed from Ceuta in North Africa to Alexandria on a Genoese ship.⁵⁶

Even Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), a man determined to recover Jerusalem from Islam, acknowledged the need for economic exchange (excluding specified materials of war and shipbuilding, the sailing of Muslim ships or provision of vessels) in a letter to the Venetians in December 1198.⁵⁷ Thus we have to recognise and to accommodate the complexities, contradictions and inconsistencies of the situation. In 1161 the Genoese concluded truces with Ibn Mardanish of the Levante (or his brother, Yusuf) and 'Abd al-Mu'min of Morocco. Yet with no irony, in his entry for the same year, Caffaro reported welcoming Pope Alexander III to Genoa immediately afterwards.⁵⁸ By a similar token, Saladin himself wrote to the caliph of Baghdad in 1175: 'Among the [enemy] armies were also Venetians, Pisans and Genoese. They sometimes behaved like invaders, producing a harmful effect and a maleficence that were intolerable, and sometimes like travellers, imposing their law on Islam with their imported goods and escaping strict regulation. Yet there is not a single one of them who does not come today to bring us the weapons with which they fought and conducted the holy war, not one who does not seek out our favour by offering us the rare products of his labour and patrimony. I established alliances and peace accords with them all, on the conditions that we set, in keeping with our interests against their interests.'⁵⁹ The Genoese envoy Rosso della Volta concluded a peace agreement with the sultan in 1177 and the latter's envoys are known to have passed through Genoa during discussions with Frederick Barbarossa.⁶⁰

Not every Genoese adventure proved profitable. The capture of Almería and, most particularly, Tortosa in 1147–48, while celebrated in Caffaro's text (and discussed below, pp. 36–40) proved hugely expensive and provoked financial and political crises in the city; Caffaro recorded a debt of 15,000 *librae*. His accounts of the years 1148 to 1153 are very brief. The city was described as 'a ship without a helmsman' and it even lacked the galleys to defend itself.⁶¹ After

⁵⁶ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst (London, 1952), pp. 26, 300.

⁵⁷ Innocent III, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, eds O.Hageneder et al., 11 vols (Graz–Cologne, Rome, Vienna, 1964–2010), 1.536 (539), pp. 775–76; trans. in *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, tr. A. Andrea (Leiden, 2000), pp. 23–24. See also S. Menache, 'Papal Attempts at a Commercial Boycott of the Muslims in the Crusader Period', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 63 (2012), pp. 236–59.

⁵⁸ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 90–92, for the truces, see above, pp. 14–15.

⁵⁹ From Abu Shama, translated in A-M. Eddé, *Saladin* (Cambridge, MA, 2011), p. 449.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 451; Ottobono Scriba, 'Annals', p. 143.

⁶¹ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 70–72 and n. 109; H. Krueger, 'Post-war Collapse and Rehabilitation in Genoa, 1149–62', in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto*, 2 vols (Milan, 1949–50), vol. 1, pp. 119–28.

a period in the wilderness some of the consuls from pre-1149 were brought back to power, presumably having paid the penalty for their perceived responsibility for the debts. Caffaro may well have been one of these men and he was never elected consul again, although he would serve the city prominently as a diplomat, as will be seen below. The consuls had to resort to drastic actions to survive and leased or mortgaged numerous rights and privileges to groups of private citizens to raise cash. Some of the contracts were directly concerned with Almería and Tortosa; others included Genoa's salt pans (see **Documents 8a, 8b**). In the Levant the Embriaco clan used the opportunity to confirm their control of Jubayl and to extend their hold to encompass Genoese possessions in several cities such as Latakia, Acre and Antioch (**Document 11b**); the Acre charter even made explicit mention of 'the pressing need' of the commune.

These measures, difficult as they were, had some success because in 1155 Caffaro recorded the redemption from pledge of numerous public assets and the start of the construction of the city walls, in itself an expensive undertaking.⁶² The end of this crisis provoked one of Caffaro's moralising passages on the importance of peace and good government. We also see a manifestation of the author's conventional piety with his aside that he prayed for the troubles to pass. This sentiment was repeated in his entry for 1157 with the statement that he prayed three times a day for Genoa's peace, harmony and wealth.⁶³

Against this turbulent economic background two further crises emerged, one involved Emperor Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, the other concerned the Genoese possessions in the Levant. In 1154 Frederick journeyed to northern Italy to assert his rights there and to extract the payment of tribute. The Genoese relationship with the Empire was vague and distant with the 1138 grant of the right to mint coins one of the few identifiable signs of this.⁶⁴ Yet Frederick, not least through his obvious military strength, deeply worried the Genoese. Issues of authority aside, this was, as we have seen, a particularly bad time for the city to face demands for money. Caffaro himself was chosen as one of the envoys and he reported that news of Genoa's determined preparations to resist convinced the emperor to treat the city 'with greater respect than all the other cities in Italy'; other, undisclosed, matters of mutual benefit to both parties were discussed too. Caffaro's visit was witnessed by another important chronicler of the age, Bishop Otto of Freising, who tells us that the Genoese presented Frederick with gifts of

⁶² The final payment was made in 1160, Caffaro, 'Annals', p. 90. On earlier recovery of civic assets, see pp. 72, 74–75. Dotson, 'Caffaro, Crusade and the *Annales Januensis*', pp. 283–84 also discusses this.

⁶³ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 72, 80.

⁶⁴ Caffaro's comments on negotiations in 1158 add some further light to this issue. 'Annals', pp. 80–83.

lions, parrots and ostriches. Otto also referenced the Genoese as the victors of Almería and Tortosa, showing the recognition drawn by this achievement.⁶⁵

For all these diplomatic niceties, we can see the Genoese trying to navigate through an ever more complex series of conflicts and tensions. Frederick's principal enemies were the Sicilians, yet the latter were highly important trading partners for the northern Italian commune. Likewise, Sicilian aggression towards Byzantium was another issue to take into account, as we will see below. There remained ongoing trouble with Pisa, particularly over control of Sardinia and Corsica. As one of the smaller parties in the political and economic arena, Genoa had to play a carefully calibrated game not to antagonise or alienate too many powerful players. Hence in November 1156, taking advantage of a period of relative calm, the Genoese and King William I (1154–66) made a treaty which yielded significant commercial advantages for the Genoese. They also promised not to deploy their fleet on behalf of either of William's imperial opponents.⁶⁶ We should be careful not to regard 'Genoa' as a single, unified entity in these dealings with external powers. The narratives of Caffaro and his continuators describe the substantial levels of political infighting and we must register the likely influences of different factions, although it is not often possible to ascribe particular foreign policy preferences to specific family groups.⁶⁷

Two years later (1158) Frederick Barbarossa returned to northern Italy and brought Milan to heel. He followed this up with an imperial diet (parliament) at Roncaglia. Caffaro claimed that Genoa was not obligated to show Frederick the level of loyalty and submission displayed by other Italian cities because its traditional duties to the Empire were limited to a requirement to protect the coasts from non-Christians, a responsibility so expensive that nothing more could be asked of them. To some extent this was probably a justifiable claim to make; piracy was certainly a problem in the north-western Mediterranean and for reasons of their own security, if nothing else, it was a matter the Genoese were always keen to deal with.⁶⁸ Caffaro also struck a belligerent note here because, legal and historical precedents aside, the Genoese were frantically working on their new city walls, just in case the situation should become critical. The author proudly noted the huge civic effort to bring the fortifications to a robust and usable state. Caffaro himself took part in a second

⁶⁵ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici seu rectius cronica*, ed. F-J. Schmale (Darmstadt, 1965), p. 314; translated as: *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C.C. Mierow (New York, 1953), p. 130.

⁶⁶ Caffaro, 'Annals', p. 79. Discussed in detail in Abulafia, *The Two Italies*, pp. 90–114; Epstein, pp. 73–74.

⁶⁷ G.W. Day, *Genoa's Response to Byzantium, 1155–1204: Commercial Expansion and Factionalism in a Medieval City* (Urbana, IL, 1988), pp. 74–82; Epstein, pp. 75–76.

⁶⁸ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 68, 81–82. This is not to say, however, that the Genoese were above engaging corsairs to work for them when required. See E. Salvatori, 'Corsairs' Crews and the Cross-Cultural Interactions: The Case of the Pisan *Trapellicinus* in the Twelfth Century', *Medieval Encounters*, 13 (2007), pp. 32–55.

embassy to the emperor and a reciprocal visit to Genoa by Rainald of Dassel, the imperial chancellor, saw the commune present him with a gift of 1,200 silver marks while maintaining its apparent freedom to act.⁶⁹ Otto of Freising's account suggested that the imperial presence in northern Italy intimidated the Genoese and for reasons of self-preservation they made a payment to the imperial treasury and allegedly promised to stop building their walls.⁷⁰

The succession of Pope Alexander III (1159–81) triggered another papal schism and the pro-imperial Victor IV emerged as his challenger. Alexander wrote to Genoa to seek support for his position. He alleged corruption and irregularity in his opponent's election and in a letter included by Caffaro he asked the city to act as a bastion defending the house of God.⁷¹ In 1162, amidst huge delight and ceremony, Alexander was welcomed into the city, making plain Genoa's allegiance to him. In almost the same breath, however, Caffaro showered praise on the pope's sworn opponent, Emperor Frederick, as a man whom he judged as deserving to stand ahead of all the Caesars in his efforts to rebuild the Empire.⁷²

In March 1162, Frederick sacked Milan and began to increase pressure on the Italian communes. Three months later he granted the Genoese a charter (**Document 13a**) that, in essence, confirmed the city's independence from the Empire (they could wage war, choose their own consuls, receive no imperial governor), he also promised them the city of Syracuse if they helped him to conquer Sicily and southern Italy, as well as indemnifying them against losses incurred because of this agreement. Aside from engaging with Pope Alexander's enemy, this was, of course, contrary to the spirit of previous deals with the Sicilians. Pragmatism was the order of the day in Genoa. Coupled with Frederick's recent military victories, which as Caffaro commented at this point, aroused a real sense of fear in northern Italy, it seemed likely that the emperor would succeed in the south too; it looked a prudent move, therefore, to align with him and to swear an oath of loyalty. In the event, troubles in Germany distracted Frederick and he was unable to reach southern Italy as planned.⁷³ The complexities of Genoa's external affairs are brought home by observing that at the same time the agreement noted above with Frederick was signed, Pope Alexander III excommunicated the emperor for supporting the anti-pope, Victor IV.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 82–83; Epstein, pp. 74–75.

⁷⁰ Otto of Freising, *GF*, p. 534; tr. p. 244.

⁷¹ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 85–89. For several illuminating essays on Alexander's pontificate and his struggle with Frederick, see *Pope Alexander III (1159–81): The Art of Survival*, eds P.D. Clarke and A.J. Duggan (Farnham, 2012). For a contemporary account of these events from the perspective of the papal camp see the narrative of Cardinal Boso, the *camerarius* and thus the prime administrator of the curia. *Boso's Life of Alexander III*, tr. G.M. Ellis with an introduction by P. Munz (Oxford, 1973).

⁷² Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 92–93.

⁷³ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 93–95; Abulafia, *Two Italies*, pp. 123–33; Epstein, pp. 76–78.

⁷⁴ Robinson, *Papacy*, pp. 465–77; Epstein, pp. 76–78.

Relations with Sicily were mended by 1174, although imperial power in northern Italy meant that in the early 1190s the commune, by now trading heavily with the island, was obliged to try to hedge its bets once more. Emperor Henry VI (1191–97) was determined to invade Sicily and by mid-1191 the Genoese felt obliged to agree to support him, resulting in the re-issue and extension of Frederick Barbarossa's privileges of 1162, see **Document 13b**.⁷⁵ Henry did not manage to invade the island until 1194 but with Genoese and Pisan help he made rapid progress. It came as a great shock, therefore, when he utterly refused to fulfil the terms of these arrangements and to give them Syracuse. Ottobono reported that the emperor described the Genoese as nothing more than men of the sea and boasted that he and his army could raze their city to the ground.⁷⁶

Aside from issues concerning Sicily and the Empire, Caffaro covered several other matters in the later stages of his contribution to the 'Annals'. First of all war with Pisa broke out again in the summer of 1162, a struggle primarily focused on control of Sardinia. Over the next 13 years a series of raids, naval battles and diplomatic confrontations occurred, some of which were played out under the direction of imperial authority.⁷⁷ Amongst the most violent of these took place in Constantinople, the heart of another major location for Genoese commerce, the Byzantine Empire.

The contemporary relationship between Genoa and Byzantium had not started on a good footing. In the aftermath of the First Crusade ships from the commune came into conflict with Greek vessels off the island of Ithaca, although a subsequent embassy to Constantinople seems to have improved matters and in 1106 Emperor Alexios Komnenos (1081–1118) asked for Genoese help against the impending invasion of Bohemond of Taranto.⁷⁸ Genoese traders were in Constantinople from the 1130s and the early 1140s although this was low-volume commerce that lacked the concessions already acquired by, for example, the Pisans. Prior to this period Genoa's interests had been elsewhere but the emergence of problems with Sicily and the Levant meant that it was wise to look more widely. Caffaro noted diplomatic contact with Emperor John Komnenos (1118–43) in 1142–43, and then again in 1155 when, on the back of Genoa's economic recovery, the city made a formal agreement with Emperor Manuel Komnenos (1143–80), see **Document**

⁷⁵ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, pp. 136–38, 154–92.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 193–213; Ottobono Scriba, 'Annales' eds L. Belgrano and C. Imperiale, vol. 12, pp. 52–53.

⁷⁷ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 95–99. The Pisan side of affairs is told by another lay author, Bernardo Maragone, who produced his *Annales Pisani* in the late twelfth century. This text also covers, *inter alia*, Pisan relations with Byzantium, Venice, Saladin, Frederick Barbarossa, Lucca. See *Annales Pisani di Bernado Maragone*, ed. M. Lupo Gentile (Bologna, 1930).

⁷⁸ Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, tr. E.R.A. Sewter, revised P. Frankopan (London, 2009), pp. 317–20; Caffaro, *LCO*, pp. 118–121.

12.⁷⁹ Just as the Genoese were seeking to expand their market opportunities so the Byzantines wanted an ally, or at least a neutral power, in their own developing conflict with the Sicilians. The Greeks made some cash payments but the promise of a commercial compound and the same, advantageous, tax rates as the Pisans were of greater interest to the Genoese. Further diplomacy took place in 1157 and 1160, missions that were required because, unsurprisingly, the Genoese treaty with William I of Sicily of 1156 was poorly received in Constantinople and this delayed implementation of the Ligurians' agreement with Byzantium.⁸⁰

By 1162 the Genoese had established themselves in Constantinople only for their Pisan and Venetian rivals to attack and destroy their compound. The losses were considerable and while embassies of 1164 and 1168 led to the mutual defence treaty of 1169 (**Document 15** below), Ottobono Scriba noted continued mistrust between the two parties during diplomatic exchanges in 1170. The new Genoese quarter in Constantinople fared little better than its predecessor when it too was sacked by the Venetians in 1170, although the latter were expelled from Constantinople in 1171 and went to war with the Greeks.⁸¹ Genoese losses in 1170 were 5,674 *hyperpera*, representing the claims of 85 individuals. For a period after this, however, the Genoese gave naval support to Manuel and trade blossomed. Ottobono recorded the emperor's death (1180) with sadness, describing this as a cause of 'utter ruin and loss' to Christendom.⁸² During the subsequent dynastic upheavals of the early 1180s a strong anti-Latin sentiment emerged in Byzantium, and along with the other western commercial entities, the Genoese suffered very badly in the massacre of 1182. Their losses on this occasion totalled over 200,000 *hyperpera*, indicating a colossal rise in their commitment to the city over the previous decade. For a while Genoa had no official position in Constantinople and it was only towards the end of the period that concerns us here that a new and generous agreement was made between the two parties (1192).⁸³

Interleaved within these multi-dimensional international dealings was one relationship of particular interest to this volume, namely that between Genoa and the kingdom of Jerusalem. At around the same time as the city was emerging from its financial crisis in the early-to-mid 1150s it sent an envoy to the court of Pope Adrian IV (1154–59) to protest at the diminution of rights granted by the rulers of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Tripoli during the early years of Frankish settlement in the Levant. **Documents 1, 2 and 3**, for example, reveal these privileges. Caffaro also insisted that Pope Lucius II (1144–45) had reconfirmed their rights in Syria in 1144.⁸⁴ Yet the Genoese had played an essential role in the conquest and

⁷⁹ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 67, 75. Day, *Genoa's Response to Byzantium*, pp. 19–26.

⁸⁰ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 80, 90.

⁸¹ T.F. Madden, *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice* (Baltimore MD, 2003), pp. 50–56.

⁸² Ottobono Scriba, 'Annals', pp. 143–44.

⁸³ Day, *Genoa's Response to Byzantium*, pp. 26–29; Epstein pp. 70–80, 84–85.

⁸⁴ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 68–69, 76–78.

preservation of the Frankish East, something achieved, as Caffaro commented, 'at great expense and with much bloodshed'; a fact attested by other writers such as Fulcher of Chartres.⁸⁵ As we saw earlier, Caffaro regarded the Genoese as crusaders as well as traders.

By the time of Baldwin III (1143–63) the Frankish rulers felt sufficiently secure to rein in some of his predecessors' privileges, but as we have noted, this was a particularly bad time for the Genoese to suffer a reduction in their income. The figures provided by Giovanni Scriba illustrated the importance of trade with the Crusader States and, coupled with the recent losses connected with Almería and Tortosa, one can appreciate why the Genoese became so agitated. By the same token, King Baldwin may have hoped to exploit this period of weakness to boost his own financial position; he was apparently required to pay Genoa 600 (presumably gold) bezants a year, as well as maintaining the commercial concessions.⁸⁶ The protest was triggered when vassals of King Baldwin seized Genoese ships and treasure. Pope Adrian's response was to order the restitution of these goods and he urged Baldwin to allow the Ligurians to hold their property in Acre peacefully and without interruption. He sent warnings along similar lines to Antioch, Tripoli and the Provençal ports.⁸⁷ By the pontificate of Alexander III the case was complicated by the pope's wish to secure the endorsement of the king and the patriarch of Jerusalem in his struggle against the antipope Victor IV (or Octavianus as Caffaro called him) – yet he also hoped to maintain the support of Genoa too, as we have seen above.

Relations between Genoa and Jerusalem were even more difficult during the reign of Amalric (1163–74), in large part because the king destroyed an inscription, written in golden letters on the walls of the Holy Sepulchre, that recorded the privileges awarded to the Italians by King Baldwin I in 1104 and recognised their courage and contribution to the early conquests (See **Document 2a**). This inscription has been the subject of a vigorous scholarly debate. Mayer and Favreau-Lilie argued that it never existed and that the privilege was a Genoese forgery. Kedar has convincingly shown that it was real and that Amalric had indeed removed it; his motives for doing so marked a continuation of Baldwin III's policy.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Caffaro, 'Annals', p. 77; Fulcher, pp. 395–97; trans. p. 152.

⁸⁶ Caffaro, *LCO*, p. 123.

⁸⁷ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 76–78.

⁸⁸ B.Z. Kedar, 'Genoa's Golden Inscription in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: A Case for the Defence', in *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme. Atti del Colloquio di Gerusalemme, 24–28 maggio 1984*, eds G. Airaldi and B.Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), pp. 317–35; idem, 'Again: Genoa's Golden Inscription and King Baldwin I's Privilege of 1104', in *Chemins d'Outre-mer. Études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, eds D. Coulon et al., *Byzantina Sorbonensia* (Paris, 2004), pp. 495–502. Favreau-Lilie and Mayer have published numerous pieces, first claiming and then contesting this view. See H.E. Mayer and M-L. Favreau-Lilie, 'Das Diplom Balduins I

A further reason why Amalric may have clamped down especially hard on the Genoese was because of his developing relationship with Pisa, something in turn influenced by events in the Near East. Once again we can see how the position of the Genoese (or any of the players) interacted with the interests and actions of many others and how a move by one party could have multiple and overlapping consequences. In 1157 Baldwin III granted the Pisans privileges at Ascalon and in 1165 his successor confirmed their rights in Tyre. The 1160s were dominated by Amalric's struggle with the Syrian Muslim ruler Nur ad-Din to conquer the failing Fatimid Empire in Egypt. The king needed naval support and in 1166 he sent an embassy to Pisa to negotiate help and to offer privileges. We should also note that in the background here was yet another convulsion of the Pisan–Genoese war. Amalric further 'encouraged' Pisan involvement by annulling the privileges of the Genoese, as noted above. The prospect of disadvantaging their main rivals in Jerusalem and gaining a premier position in the richest market in the Mediterranean was obviously tremendously attractive to the Pisans. In May 1167 their galleys helped to (briefly) capture Alexandria, and in 1168 they again sent a force to the eastern Mediterranean, although early the following year Saladin, nominally on behalf of Nur ad-Din, seized control of Egypt and secured a considerable strategic and financial boost for his master.⁸⁹

Alexander III tried hard to restore the standing of the Genoese with letters to both Amalric and the patriarch of Jerusalem in 1167–69 (See **Documents 16a** and **16b**), that urged them to recognise the importance of the commune's contribution to their lands. These letters had little effect but the vagaries of succession to the throne of Jerusalem gave the Genoese a real opportunity to reassert themselves. When Amalric died unexpectedly in 1174 the throne passed to his young son, Baldwin IV (1174–85), who was soon discovered to have leprosy. It was necessary, therefore, to choose a husband for his elder sister, Sibylla and it was likely that this man would become the joint ruler of Jerusalem once the sickly Baldwin died. The High Court of Jerusalem fixed upon William 'Longsword' of Montferrat in northern Italy, a first cousin of both King Louis VII of France (1137–80) and Emperor Frederick. The leading men of the Holy Land regarded the selection of a man closely tied to the emperor as a wise move given the apparent imperial ascendancy in the West, although this would hardly win much favour with Pope Alexander. From a Genoese perspective the Montferrat dynasty were highly

für Genua und Genuas Goldene Inschrift in der Grabeskirche', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 55–6 (1976), pp. 22–95. Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land*, pp. 327–28, and H.E. Mayer, 'Genuas gefälschte Goldene Inschrift in der Grabeskirche', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 116 (2000), pp. 63–75. See also the comments by Mayer in *Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, 1.137–45. For other examples of privileges on church buildings, see Phillips, 'Caffaro of Genoa and the Motives of the Early Crusaders'.

⁸⁹ 'Annales Pisani', *MGHSS*, 19.255–58; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 159–67; Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener*, pp. 188–205; Haywood, *History of Pisa*, pp. 112–15.

familiar because their lands lay only 40 miles to the north-west of their city. In 1150 William's father (William 'the Old') had sworn an oath of submission to the Ligurians and, a few subsequent tensions aside, relations had been cordial; the engagement with Sibylla of Jerusalem offered an obvious challenge to Pisan power in the Levant. As **Document 17** shows, William, en route to the Holy Land, swore to recover lost Genoese possessions, excluding those in the royal domain. In the event, this promise proved only fleeting because William's death in June 1177, only nine months after he arrived in the East, ended the prospect.⁹⁰

This setback prompted a resumption of efforts to get papal support. In 1179 Alexander III wrote to Baldwin IV, and in 1186 Urban III contacted Baldwin V (**Documents 16c** and **d**). The second of these messages pointedly reminded the people of Jerusalem that the Genoese might be less inclined to help them if the current dispute continued. Urban made a concerted attempt to intervene by proposing the archbishop of Nazareth and the masters of the Templars and Hospitallers as arbitrators in the dispute. By this stage the papacy was leaning strongly towards the Genoese side with other letters to the prior and canons of the Holy Sepulchre referring to 'culpable and high-handed' behaviour by their forefathers in the 'destruction of the historical record', and directing them to restore the inscription and not to repeat such behaviour (**Document 16f**). In another letter of the same day the pope instructed the patriarch of Jerusalem to put pressure on the canons of the Holy Sepulchre to comply. The situation remained unresolved before it was overtaken by Saladin's crushing victory over the Frankish forces at the Battle of Hattin (4 July) and the capture of King Guy, many of the leading nobles of the kingdom and the True Cross. Acre fell within days.

In the inevitably confused aftermath merchant vessels were the quickest way for news to reach the West and ships could have arrived in Genoa by late August 1187. The citizens composed a detailed report on the battle and sent it to Pope Urban III (See **Document 18**), thereby providing historians with an important contemporary account of the conflict.⁹¹ The letter also stated that Genoa looked to Urban for leadership and direction and assured him of the city's support in the aftermath of this calamity. As an aside, it is worth noting that the Genoese lord of Jubayl, Ugo II Embriaco, was amongst those taken at Hattin and that his town surrendered to Saladin in return for its lord's freedom.⁹²

Meanwhile, events in the Holy Land opened out a whole new series of opportunities for the Genoese. In the latter half of July 1187 Raymond of Tripoli and many of the surviving senior figures of the kingdom gathered in Tyre. The

⁹⁰ B. Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 2000) pp. 100, 109–118. William's selection may indicate some support for Genoa's position within the kingdom; equally the clause noted here could indicate a need to keep sympathy for the Italians in check.

⁹¹ B.Z. Kedar, 'The Battle of Hattin Revisited', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B.Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 190–207.

⁹² Eddé, *Saladin*, p. 300.

chance presence of Genoese ships, combined with their existing holdings in the city offered a vital source of support for the beleaguered Franks. In return for promises of assistance a senior Genoese figure, Guglielmo Piperata, formerly consul in 1174 and 1186, was able to secure important concessions. As **Document 19a** shows, these marked a major advance for Genoa's position in Tyre.

Within a couple of weeks, the unexpected arrival in the East of Conrad of Montferrat presented further potential advantages to Genoa. In 1186 Conrad had been invited to Constantinople to support Isaac II Angelos's attempts to hold onto the imperial throne; he had also married the emperor's sister. The marquis helped Isaac to defeat his challenger but in the aftermath he was forced to flee and, as the Genoese text known as the *Brevis Historia* (see below pp. 41–42 for a discussion of this source) tells us, he elected to leave Constantinople on a Genoese boat with a senior nobleman from the commune, Ansaldo Bonvicino.⁹³ Conrad decided to head towards the kingdom of Jerusalem where his nephew (Baldwin V, 1185–86) had reigned briefly and his father William 'the Old' still held lands. Conrad was unaware of the disaster at Hattin until he reached Acre (by then in Muslim hands) but his vigorous leadership did much to preserve the city of Tyre in Frankish hands and to maintain an important toehold on the coastline of the Latin kingdom.

The release of King Guy of Jerusalem in the summer of 1188 complicated the politics of the region because Conrad had set himself up as the *de facto* ruler in Tyre and twice he refused to acknowledge Guy's authority. The latter, in response, besieged the city of Acre. The Genoese – and the Pisans – proved vital in the survival of the Frankish East during this period. The 'Annals' of Ottobono Scriba noted a series of Genoese fleets sailing 'for the relief and service of God' to fight at the siege of Acre where the Ligurians used their expertise to construct siege engines and wooden fortifications.⁹⁴ The existing ties between the house of Montferrat and the Genoese seemed to signpost an obvious bias in the latter's allegiance but they chose to steer a middle path, maintaining recognition of Guy as king.⁹⁵ Thus, in May 1190 the commune was awarded extensive privileges in Acre, as detailed in **Document 21**. By this time Guy and Conrad had come to some form of agreement with the latter confirmed as ruler of Tyre. He had already rewarded Ansaldo Bonvicino with the post of castellan there in late 1189, and the

⁹³ *Brevis Historia*, pp. 164–65.

⁹⁴ Ottobono Scriba, 'Annals', pp. 148–49 below.

⁹⁵ The careful policies of the Genoese, as well as the parallel actions of the Pisans are cleverly elucidated by D. Jacoby, 'Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1187–92', in *Atti del Congresso internazionale 'Dai feudi monferrine e dal Piemonte ai nuovi mondi oltre gli Oceani'*, Alessandria, 2–6 aprile 1990, Biblioteca della Società di storia arte e archeologia per le province di Alessandria e Asti, 27 (Alessandria, 1993), esp. pp. 202–11, or more conveniently reprinted in the author's *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 1997).

privileges of 1187 were reconfirmed and extended by Conrad in April 1190; see **Document 19b**.⁹⁶

The demands of the situation in the Levant, coupled with the West's inevitable response to the fall of Jerusalem, the Third Crusade, both came to exert a significant impact on Genoa.⁹⁷ The efforts to assist the crusade meant that numerous leading figures were absent, a situation that caused the citizens to adopt what was for Genoa a novel form of government. Other northern Italian cities had taken to employing a *podestà*, an official – usually an outsider – to act as their governor and in 1190 the Genoese chose a Brescian, Manegoldo, for the task, although he was in post for only a year (1191) before the older system was restored.⁹⁸

One vital aspect of preparations for the crusade was the transportation of large numbers of western knights to the Holy Land. In 1188 Rosso della Volta was sent to England to consider travel arrangements with the English king, and the following year other Genoese envoys discussed the relief of the Holy Land with Richard I of England and Philip Augustus of France.⁹⁹ Richard himself passed through Genoa in August 1190 but the city became more closely involved with the French crown. In February 1190 Philip's representatives concluded an agreement to transport 650 knights, 1300 foot-soldiers, 1300 horses and their weapons, equipment and food for eight months (see **Document 20**). The contract specified matters of accounting and timing, it also insisted on the restoration of former Genoese possessions in lands captured by Philip and his vassals (except Richard) and required comparable privileges in any new conquests. **Document 22** shows that he reconfirmed these earlier promises when he passed through Genoa. Philip left the Holy Land soon after the surrender of Acre in July 1191.

In spite of his close ties with Guy and the Pisans, Richard remained on sufficiently good terms with the Genoese to write to them in October 1191 to discuss the possibility of invading Egypt.¹⁰⁰ The spring of 1192 saw Acre as the setting for the latest eruption of conflict between Pisa and Genoa. By this time, the death of Guy's wife and daughters (and through their bloodline his claim to the throne of Jerusalem), coupled with the weight of political will, meant that Conrad, who had by now married Isabella, the sole heiress to the throne, was recognised as the future king. As he prepared for his coronation Conrad rewarded the Genoese for their previous assistance and sought their allegiance in the future. From the *Brevis Historia* we also learn that he sent precious relics back to the

⁹⁶ For Ansaldo, see *Ibid.*, p. 206, n.100.

⁹⁷ For excellent coverage of many aspects of Genoa and the Third Crusade see M. Mack, 'A Genoese Perspective of the Third Crusade', *Crusades*, 10 (2011), pp. 45–62.

⁹⁸ This situation is discussed in Epstein, p. 88.

⁹⁹ Ottobono Scriba, 'Annals', pp. 147–48.

¹⁰⁰ This letter is at CD, vol. 3, p. 21, and is translated in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, tr. P.W. Edbury *Crusade Texts in Translation* 1 (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 181–82.

cathedral of San Lorenzo.¹⁰¹ In **Document 23** we can see the award of further substantial privileges in Acre. It is interesting that Conrad lavished praise on the Genoese for their crusading efforts and recalled the fact that they had been crusaders ‘since times long ago.’ He commented that they had suffered heavy losses in these expeditions, he applauded their bravery and faith and compared them to the Old Testament warriors, the Maccabees. Clearly there was an element of flattery here, but it is undeniable that the Genoese put an immense effort into the defence and the attempted recovery of the Holy Land and, aside from seeking commercial advantage, they acted from religious devotion as well. Conrad also made reference to that most controversial of matters, the Golden Inscription in the Holy Sepulchre, and he promised its restoration if Jerusalem was recaptured.

Within weeks, however, this tremendous position would be threatened. Conrad’s murder on 28 April 1192 drastically undermined Genoa’s standing and while his eventual successor, Henry of Champagne reissued the charter, it was less generous in some respects, (See **Document 24**). We might also note clauses that defined liabilities on cargoes arriving by sea from Egypt and North Africa and by land ‘from any Saracen territory’. Thus it appears that Christians and Muslims were trading by the latter months of 1192, although there is evidence to indicate that such activities had not stopped at all during the crusade. While a document from Genoa of 1190 forbade traders from going to Alexandria and the Latin East, Egyptian tax records show that during 12 months in 1191–92 exports by Christian merchants from the Nile ports were worth over 100,000 gold dinars.¹⁰²

The Liberation of the Cities of the East (*De liberatione civitatum orientis*):

Soon after the ‘Annals’ were officially endorsed by the city consuls Caffaro produced another text, *De liberatione civitatum orientis*. It is generally argued that this was written around 1155 as part of Genoese efforts to convince (particularly) Pope Adrian IV of their rights in the Levant.¹⁰³ As mentioned above, King Baldwin III had cut back on these privileges and a bold statement of Genoa’s crusading credentials must have been deemed appropriate. Given that this seems essentially a commercial matter it is interesting that Adrian was chosen as the right arbiter, but from the Genoese point of view it involved issues of morality and truth, and of their efforts as Christian warriors, as well as trade. Once again, therefore, we see how these ideas overlapped in Genoa’s self-perception of its involvement in the crusades. Whether this particular version was given to Adrian is unclear because it has a slightly odd structure for such an important purpose; perhaps it was a text

¹⁰¹ See *Brevis Historia*, p. 162.

¹⁰² Jacoby, ‘Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat’, p. 218, n.100; Abulafia, *Great Sea*, pp. 296–99. Henry was less generous to the Pisans too, see Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land*, pp. 299–310.

¹⁰³ Bellomo, *A servizio di dio*, pp. 52–78; Balbi, *Caffaro*, pp. 25–26.

that representations could be drawn from, rather than being presented in this form. The narrative is, as we will see, quite uneven. Some sections are quite detailed, one or two barely concern the Genoese, and others are highly anecdotal in form, plus it does not follow a strict chronology.

The history began with an account of the origins of the First Crusade. Most of the major chroniclers of the First Crusade (including the eye-witness accounts of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond of Aguilers) ascribed the initiation of the expedition to Pope Urban II; there is, however, another strand of evidence that assigned this role to Peter the Hermit. According to Albert of Aachen, the earliest surviving authority for this belief, Peter went to Jerusalem on a pilgrimage where he saw Christian visitors maltreated and the holy places defiled. He then had a vision of Christ who told him to get a written appeal to the people of the West from the [Orthodox] patriarch of Jerusalem. When Peter told the patriarch about this the latter produced such a document. Peter then returned home and informed Pope Urban who was duly inspired to preach the crusade.¹⁰⁴ This story found its way into the *Chanson d'Antioche*, and by the later decades of the twelfth century it was deemed reliable enough to form a part of Archbishop William of Tyre's monumental and highly-respected *Historia* (written in the Levant), as well as the chronicle of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines.¹⁰⁵

Caffaro's version proved to be a little different, with Godfrey of Bouillon and Count Robert I of Flanders starting as pilgrims who sailed to Jerusalem via Alexandria on a Genoese ship named 'Pomella'. During their visit to the Holy Sepulchre Godfrey was punched by a Muslim guard so he prayed to God that one day he would extract revenge for this insult. On his return he spoke to Raymond

¹⁰⁴ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 2–9. On Peter the Hermit, see: E.O. Blake and C. Morris, 'A Hermit Goes to War: Peter the Hermit and the Origins of the First Crusade', in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. W.J. Shiels, Studies in Church History 22 (Oxford, 1985), pp. 79–101.

¹⁰⁵ *Chanson d'Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, tr. S.B. Edgington and C. Sweetenham, Crusade Texts in Translation 22 (Farnham, 2011), pp. 109–24; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, pp. 124–130; trans. vol. 1, pp. 82–88; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, MGHSS, 23.803. Bellomo notes the above but also places emphasis on the connection with the late thirteenth-century Castilian (Old Spanish) *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, itself a concoction of earlier French and Occitan texts such as the Old French continuation of William of Tyre and several works of fiction including the Old French Crusade cycle. She notes that the *Gran Conquista* has three knights making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, encountering trouble at the Holy Sepulchre followed by visions encouraging them to contact Pope Urban. Bellomo is making the broader point that we should be aware of the influence of epic poetry on Caffaro, as well as more obvious historical narratives, *A servizio di dio*, pp. 62–74. Another later text bearing witness to the durability of the Peter the Hermit tradition was the Dominican Humbert of Romans' *De predicacione crucis* written around 1266 which places Peter as the divinely inspired instigator. P.J. Cole, 'Humbert of Romans and the Crusade', in: *The Experience of Crusading, Volume 1: Western Approaches*, eds M.G. Bull and N. Housley, 2 vols, (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 170–72.

of Saint-Gilles who suggested meeting at Le Puy with other nobles and bishops to plan this service to God. During these discussions an angel appeared to one of the men, named Bartholomew, signed him with the cross and told him to arrange for Pope Urban to join them and to instruct people to go to free Jerusalem in return for remission of their sins.¹⁰⁶

As Nicholas Paul has argued ‘the abuse of Christian pilgrims and the desecration of holy sites by Jerusalem’s “pagan” overlords were central themes in the preaching of the First Crusade, and still resonated in the minds of chroniclers of the expedition working in the first decade of the twelfth century.’¹⁰⁷ This localised refinement of what, at its root, seems to have been a fairly well-circulated story is an interesting reflection of the sources and the ideas that had made their way to Genoa or been encountered by Caffaro. The presence of Genoese merchants in Alexandria has already been observed and Count Robert I of Flanders (father of the crusader, Count Robert II) went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the late 1080s; Raymond of Saint-Gilles was also reported to have been involved in the early planning stages of the crusade.¹⁰⁸ Thus some elements of this story can be corroborated or possess clear echoes in the mainstream narratives. What Caffaro did was to place Genoa at the very origins of the First Crusade, to show his audience how important the city was to the crusading movement and, in turn, to demonstrate how the crusades were important to Genoa. Urban II did, admittedly, lose the position of initiator he carried in other narratives, although Caffaro was careful to give him the prime billing as the preacher and authoriser of spiritual rewards. The prominence of Godfrey of Bouillon at this stage of the expedition is also striking, a manifestation of the immense profile attained by the first ruler of Jerusalem and one of the crusade’s greatest heroes.¹⁰⁹ Intriguingly, there are some echoes of this account in the early fourteenth century Latin text *Memoria Terre Sancte*, one of the series of so-called ‘Recovery Treatises’ written after the loss

¹⁰⁶ Caffaro, *LCO*, pp. 107–109.

¹⁰⁷ N.L. Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2012). ‘These stories... are important for what they demonstrate about the fashioning of crusade narrative. Within a short time of the conquest of Jerusalem, new narrative episodes related to the people and places in the history of the crusade were being generated or collected and then interposed or interlaced into the broader well-known narrative of the crusade in such a way as to emphasize or explain some part of that narrative. In this way, the First Crusade story demonstrated the same characteristics as other narratives of tremendous mythic power and cultural significance in the Middle Ages’, p. 174.

¹⁰⁸ For Robert of Flanders’ pilgrimage see Guibert, pp. 319–20; tr. p. 151; for Raymond of Saint-Gilles, see J.H. and L.L. Hill, *Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles 1041–1105* (Syracuse, NY, 1962), pp. 30–32. In the same way that Godfrey of Bouillon did much to prompt Urban to start the crusade in Caffaro’s account, the version of William of Malmesbury gave Raymond a similar role, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, (ed. and trans.) R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998–99), vol. 1, pp. 696–97.

¹⁰⁹ See the unpublished doctoral thesis of Simon John, ‘Godfrey of Bouillon: The Life and Legend of a First Crusader, c.1060 – c.1325’ (University of Swansea, 2012).

of the Holy Land in 1291. This described Godfrey twice trying to make earlier pilgrimages to Jerusalem and losing his (allegedly ill-gotten) money but then, with right intention, he *de facto* launched and led the crusade.¹¹⁰

This challenging section of *De liberatione* is followed by an entirely conventional account of crusade recruitment. In the summer of 1096 Genoa was visited by preachers, probably dispatched soon after the Council of Nîmes, 6–14 July.¹¹¹ These men, Hugh I of Grenoble, and William I of Orange, gathered the people in the church of San Siro (at that time the main church of the city) where they preached the expedition for ‘the service of God and of the Holy Sepulchre, in remission of all sins.’¹¹² William was a senior figure in the Provençal clergy who had been present at the Councils of Piacenza (March 1095) and Clermont (November 1095); Caffaro described him as a papal legate and he seems to have been the number two clergyman in the hierarchy of the crusade itself. He was in Raymond of Saint-Gilles’s company on their march across Asia Minor (thus he did not sail with the Genoese) and died at the siege of Ma’arat around 20 December 1098.¹¹³ There was also a practical element to the episode because the legates were to arrange the best way for the land and naval forces to link up. Caffaro’s description of the preaching in San Siro and the offer of spiritual rewards is entirely in keeping with other accounts of people joining the crusade elsewhere in the West.

A fleet of 12 galleys and one *sandanum*, an oared and sailed supply ship, set sail for the Levant in July 1097 and joined the siege of Antioch which had started a month earlier.¹¹⁴ The Genoese were soon involved in military action and took heavy casualties, although Caffaro was quick to describe these men as martyrs and as companions to the biblical warriors the Maccabees, again two conventional and widely-used tropes in crusading narratives.¹¹⁵ The Genoese troops, some of whom fought on horseback at times, shared in the hardships and suffering of

¹¹⁰ ‘Memoria terre sancte’, *Projets de croisade (v.1290-v.1330)*, ed. J. Paviot (Paris, 2008), pp. 238–40; A. Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 18–21, 72.

¹¹¹ Bernold of St Blaise, ‘Chronicon’, *MGHSS*, 5.464.

¹¹² Caffaro, *LCO*, p. 110.

¹¹³ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, eds J.H. and L.L. Hill under the title *Le ‘Liber’ de Raymond d’Aguilers* (Paris, 1969), pp. 46, 152; tr. J.H. and L.L. Hill (Philadelphia, PA, 1968), pp. 28–29, 129; William of Tyre, pp. 200, 355; trans., vol. 1, pp. 177, 381.

¹¹⁴ J.H. Pryor, ‘A View from the Masthead: The First Crusade from the Sea’, *Crusades*, 7 (2008), pp. 143–47 gives a splendid account of the seafaring abilities of the Genoese sailors during this campaign.

¹¹⁵ On the Maccabees as models and moral precursors of the crusaders, see N. E. Morton, ‘The Defence of the Holy Land and the Memory of the Maccabees’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 36 (2010), pp. 275–93. On the first few months of the siege of Antioch, see France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 205–35.

this arduous campaign. Caffaro mentioned a battle near the Iron Bridge in late March 1098 and also provided his version of the crusaders' treacherous entry into Antioch negotiated by Bohemond in early June. Caffaro claimed that the betrayers were Turks, a tradition shared with the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, Raymond of Aguilers, Fulcher of Chartres and Albert of Aachen, although not with other sources such as Ralph of Caen who suggested that an Armenian was responsible.¹¹⁶

After the city was taken Caffaro outlined the preparations to face Kerbogha, the Muslim ruler of Mosul, who had come to Antioch with a large army intent upon crushing the crusade. The chronicler then included a speech purportedly made by Bishop Adhémar in which he restated the origins of the crusade. This included Bartholomew's vision, although it gave Urban II a more prominent place as the director of the campaign. Three days of fasting and prayers constituted the requisite spiritual preparations for the battle while Peter the Hermit led an attempt to resolve the outcome of the siege through trial by battle, an offer Kerbogha refused.¹¹⁷ Caffaro also noted another vision, this time an appearance of the Apostle Peter to Peter the Hermit. This was Caffaro's account of the finding of the Holy Lance which Raymond of Aguilers, an eyewitness source to the discovery of this object, stated was actually revealed to the Provençal cleric, Peter Bartholomew.¹¹⁸ Duly inspired by the discovery of this precious object the crusaders pooled all their wheat and barley to strengthen their horses and to ready themselves for battle. Caffaro wrote that the crusaders divided themselves into seven battalions and that during the conflict there appeared a host of knights in white armour and with white standards, said by some to be angels, all of whom bowed to the Holy Lance.¹¹⁹ The Christians duly triumphed and in the aftermath they secured huge amounts of

¹¹⁶ *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 44–47; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, p. 64; tr. pp. 46–47; Fulcher, pp. 230–31; tr. p. 98 and AA, pp. 270–85 are amongst those who state that it was a Turk who let the crusaders into the city. Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi*, written between 1112 and 1118 in the Latin East is amongst the texts that described him as an Armenian, *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana*, ed. E. D'Angelo, *Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis* 231 (Turnhout, 2011), p. 123; trans. as *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, tr. B.S. and D.S. Bachrach, *Crusade Texts in Translation* 12 (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 87–88.

¹¹⁷ This anecdote is attested in AA, pp. 316–21 and Fulcher, pp. 247–50, tr. p. 103 and the contemporary letter of Anselm of Ribemont, *Epistulae*, p. 159; tr. in *Letters from the East*, p. 29.

¹¹⁸ Caffaro seems to have confused the identity of this man; all other sources identify him as Peter Bartholomew. For a discussion of this miracle, see: T.S. Asbridge, 'The Holy Lance of Antioch: Power, Devotion and Memory on the First Crusade', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 33 (2007), pp. 3–36.

¹¹⁹ The sources give the number of divisions ranging between four and thirteen. Caffaro's seven is also found in Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and tr. M. Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969–80), vol. 5, pp. 108–109. The description of the bishop of Le Puy and the relic of the Holy Lance is given prominence by AA, pp. 320–23.

booty; Bohemond then gave the Genoese rights in Antioch ‘as is recorded in the register’; a reference to the charter, here below at **Document 1a**.¹²⁰

Much of the above, in its variant forms, is either the same as, or recognisably close to, other accounts of the conquest; Caffaro’s subsequent story is one unique to him. As the crusaders paused to consider their next move they sent John the Treasurer to negotiate markets and safe passage as they marched down to Jerusalem. The vizier of Egypt, al-Afdal, duly obliged and when the other crusader leaders learned of this, they were encouraged to set out for Jerusalem. We know of some diplomacy between the Egyptians and the First Crusade from other sources and the likelihood of a Genoese trading presence in Alexandria gives this diplomatic mission some plausibility. What Caffaro omitted was the fact that al-Afdal did not want the crusaders to take Jerusalem, a city which had, in the course of the siege of Antioch/early 1099, come into his possession. For this reason, John’s negotiations now became redundant.¹²¹

Once the siege of Jerusalem was underway Caffaro was able to report the arrival of the Genoese Embriaci brothers who donated of their ships’ timbers to provide crucial material for the siege engines necessary to break into the city and to recover it for Christendom. The subsequent defeat of the Egyptians at the Battle of Ascalon was noted, along with the Embriaci’s acquisition of massive amounts of gold, silver and precious stones. The victorious Genoese reached home on Christmas Eve 1099 bearing riches and appeals for help from Godfrey of Bouillon, the ruler of Jerusalem, and Daimbert of Pisa, patriarch of the holy city.¹²²

According to Caffaro this plea had a remarkable effect in Genoa and a recognition of the need to provide support for the Holy Land ended a long period of disharmony in the city. For this reason and, presumably encouraged by the success of the Embriaci fleet, no less than 26 galleys and four (or six) sailing ships set out for the Levant. At the same time Caffaro gives us a reference to what historians have called the ‘1101 Crusade’ with a mention of recruitment of men from Lombardy. This group travelled via Constantinople where they met Count Raymond of Saint-Gilles, although their subsequent efforts to cross Asia Minor were crushed by the Seljuk Turks.¹²³

As we saw in the ‘Annals’ Caffaro himself was on board the Genoese fleet and he repeated here the Ligurians’ important role in the selection of Baldwin of Edessa as the new king of Jerusalem and Tancred as the ruler of Antioch, and he restated the grant of various privileges by the latter.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Caffaro, *LCO*, p. 115.

¹²¹ Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East*, pp. 44-54; Dajani-Shakeel, ‘Diplomatic Relations between Muslim and Frankish Rulers’, pp. 192-96.

¹²² Caffaro, *LCO*, p. 117.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

At this point the narrative made a distinctive digression, presumably a reflection of Caffaro's own experiences in the Levant and his life in a maritime community. He produced a list of places located between the well-known cities of Antioch and Jerusalem, giving their names, the distances between them, and occasional details as to their capture and/or ownership, particularly where it was relevant to the Genoese. Bellomo has indicated that most of the distances are accurate.¹²⁵ One especially curious anecdote concerned the capture of the formidable castle of Marqab in the south of the principality of Antioch. Caffaro suggested that he was the first to reveal how this had occurred, a success secured by cruelly tricking the Muslim commander. Because this did not happen until 1140, some have speculated that the author himself may have been in the Holy Land at the time. In any event, its inclusion further suggests a mid-twelfth century date of composition for *De liberatione*. This is bolstered by possible references to the existence of the *Annals* text in *De liberatione*, yet none in reverse.¹²⁶

Caffaro detailed the achievements of further Genoese fleets to the East between 1101 and 1104, including an episode of divine intervention during the capture of Tartus, as well as the acquisition of one-third of the town of Jubayl in the county of Tripoli. Caffaro only rarely reported the taking of relics, an oddity given that it was in Caesarea the Genoese secured the magnificent emerald bowl still in the treasury of San Lorenzo cathedral and that the widely venerated relics of John the Baptist probably arrived in Genoa shortly before.¹²⁷ He did, however, record the removal of 12 beautifully-coloured marble columns from what was believed to be the palace of Judas Maccabeus, a striking link with crusading imagery and ideology. Sadly for the Genoese the boat carrying these precious objects foundered in the Gulf of Adalia and never reached its intended destination.¹²⁸

The capture of Acre in 1104 involved no less than 40 Genoese galleys, a success that resulted in the concessions inscribed in golden letters in the Holy Sepulchre discussed above. The final section of the *De liberatione* covered the siege and capture of Tripoli (1109) with the Genoese taking the part of Bertrand, Raymond of Saint-Gilles's bastard son, in his ultimately successful contest against his half-brother William Jordan. Ongoing Genoese trade with southern France presumably underpinned part of this decision.¹²⁹

In the aftermath of the conquest of Tripoli the Genoese secured complete control of Jubayl, two-thirds falling to the Embriaci and one-third to Ansaldo

¹²⁵ E. Bellomo, 'Sapere nautico e geografi a sacra alle radici dei portolani medievali (secoli XII-XIII)', in *Dio, il mare e gli uomini*, *Quaderni di storia religiosa*, 15 (2008), pp. 215–41.

¹²⁶ For example, Caffaro, *LCO*, p. 118. On Marqab, see H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 163–79.

¹²⁷ The emerald bowl is noted in William of Tyre, p. 471; tr. vol. 1, p. 437.

¹²⁸ Caffaro, *LCO*, pp. 122–23.

¹²⁹ G. Jehel, *Les génois en Méditerranée occidentale* (Paris, 1993); Dupont, *Les relations commerciales*, p. 68.

Corso. As we saw above, the Embriaci eventually took full authority over the town and held it in their own right. This fits a pattern we can see elsewhere, such as Almería in southern Spain, where Genoese conquests were, in effect, privatised and held by individuals, rather than by or on behalf of the city itself, seemingly because the commune was unwilling to take the commercial risk and to assume responsibility for such holdings.¹³⁰

Thus *De liberatione* is an intriguing work that contains numerous themes and events found in many other First Crusade narratives. Some elements of the account, however, such as the origins of the expedition are more idiosyncratic; others, understandably, place the Genoese at the forefront of matters. Several more are distinct to Caffaro himself and seem the result of personal experience or of anecdotes that reached and circulated in his home city. Overall though, in common with the 'Annals', we can perceive a particular perspective of crusading, one that combined religiosity, civic pride and commercial gain. As he wrote: 'the fleet of Genoese galleys... was welcomed with great joy on arrival by the rest of the Genoese, as the [returning voyagers] repeatedly proclaimed to their fellow-citizens the triumphant victory which had come their way with God's help, and showed off the great wealth and treasures which they had seized there.'¹³¹

The History of the Capture of Almería and Tortosa:

The third of Caffaro's texts included here is his short account of the capture of Almería and Tortosa during the Second Crusade (1147–48).¹³² This may have been the first of the trio to be completed if his remark in the 'Annals' about this campaign being already 'written in the books and chronicles of the Genoese ... who were witnesses and participants in these events' refers to this text – and we know of no other Genoese account.¹³³ This short work (just over 3000 words in its English translation) concerns the capture of two Muslim-held cities in Iberia in 1147 and 1148 respectively. By way of context, the Genoese had been involved in commercial and military activities in the Iberian peninsula for many decades, including the raid on Tortosa in 1093 noted in the 'Annals'.¹³⁴

In the year prior to the events described here Caffaro himself had led a preliminary raid on Minorca and Almería, an episode that he related in the 'Annals' in largely secular terms. This campaign saw Genoa acquire considerable

¹³⁰ Epstein, p. 51.

¹³¹ Caffaro, *LCO*, p. 122.

¹³² An overview of these events can be found in: J.B. Williams, 'The Making of a Crusade: The Genoese anti-Muslim Attacks in Spain, 1146–1148', *Journal of Medieval History*, 23 (1997), pp. 29–53; Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 244–68.

¹³³ Caffaro, 'Annals', p. 56.

¹³⁴ Caffaro, 'Annals', p. 70; 1143 '*Registrum Curiae Archiepiscopalis Ianuae*', ed. L. Belgrano, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 2, pt. 2 (1872), pp. 9–10.

booty and allowed them to assess the city's strength.¹³⁵ In late September 1146 the Ligurians struck a deal with King Alfonso VII of León-Castile to besiege the city the following year, (see **Documents 5a** and **5b** below), while a further agreement was made with Count Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona to secure Genoese participation in an attack on Tortosa in northern Spain once the Almería expedition was completed (See **Document 5c** below). Almería was an important trading port, an entrée to the profitable interior of Andalusia and a base for Muslim raiders; it therefore represented a valuable prize for all the Christian groups.¹³⁶

By this time the campaign was being drawn into the wider context of the Second Crusade, an enterprise launched by Pope Eugenius III in December 1145 to recover the city of Edessa in northern Syria. While there is no surviving papal bull for the Almería expedition, it is worth suggesting that one may have been issued because Caffaro commented that in making this attack the Genoese were 'counselled and called upon by God through the Apostolic See'. We know that Pope Eugenius III published *Divina dispensatione I* in October 1146 in which he called upon Italians to take part in the crusade. It may have been in response to this that the Genoese approached the pope to grant their efforts in Iberia a similar status; he had already produced a bull encouraging an assault on Tarragona in May 1145. Certainly by April 1147 when Eugenius dispatched *Divina dispensatione II* he had acknowledged that the expedition to Tortosa was on a par with those to the Holy Land and the Baltic.¹³⁷

Caffaro located the Almería and Tortosa campaigns within a holy war context through his observations that the Saracens of Almería had unjustly killed, imprisoned and forced innocent Christians to convert – thus presenting grounds for vengeance.¹³⁸ He cast the undertaking as a worthy enterprise in which the 'warriors of God' received divine help on several occasions and in relating Genoese preparations for the campaign he noted that 'thanks to the intervention of the Holy Spirit' feuding in the city ceased, reflecting a broader pattern of resolving

¹³⁵ Caffaro 'Annals', pp. 69–70.

¹³⁶ B. Gari, 'Why Almería? An Islamic Port in the Compass of Genoa', *Journal of Medieval History*, 18 (1992), pp. 211–31.

¹³⁷ For *Divina dispensatione I*, see *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, ed. R. Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificus*, III (Göttingen, 1985), no. 63, pp. 193–95; for *Divina dispensatione II*, see Eugenius III, 'Epistolae et privilegia', in vol. 180, cols 1203–1204. These documents are also discussed in Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 93, 134, 238, 255–57.

¹³⁸ Caffaro, *CAT*, p. 127. Note the earlier appeals in 1120s by the archbishop of Compostela, in *Historia Compostellana*, ed. E. Falque-Rey, *Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis* 70 (Turnhout, 1988), pp. 174–76, 262–64. Piracy is mentioned as reason for the attack of 1147 in the 'Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris', in *Chronica Hispania saeculi XII, pars I*, eds E. Falque-Rey, J. Gil and A. Maya Sánchez, *Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis* 71/1 (Turnhout, 1990), pp. 246–47; trans. Barton and Fletcher, in *World of El Cid*, p. 248. See also J. Gilchrist 'The Papacy and War against the "Saracens", 795–1216', *International History Review*, 10 (1988), pp. 174–97.

disputes that can be seen elsewhere in western Europe during the build-up to the crusade.¹³⁹ Caffaro outlined the immense amount of men and materials required, including siege machinery; there was also a nod to civic pride with a comment about 'attractive and worthy battle standards'. The considerable size of the Genoese fleet here – 63 galleys and 163 other ships – represented an immense effort on their part. It cost the commune 17,000 Genoese pounds to finance the venture and with around 12,000 men taking part in the attack it showed real commitment to the enterprise.¹⁴⁰

Caffaro's account of the siege is highly detailed suggesting that he spoke to many eye-witnesses. He shows awareness of the bravery of individuals (rather than his usual focus on the communal endeavour) by recounting the boldness of William Pelle whose solo attack on a group of Muslims was typical of medieval knights, and especially crusaders, seeking to accomplish deeds of great renown.¹⁴¹

After a series of engagements the city fell in October 1147. Caffaro described an extensive slaughter, something that was comparatively rare in medieval warfare, perhaps provoked in this instance by the Almerians' previous acts of piracy and fierce resistance. He was also careful to detail substantial payments by the Muslims to the Genoese, the capture of thousands of women and children as slaves, and the share of booty given to each member of the force.¹⁴²

Document 6 below provides a coda to this with the leasing of Genoa's share of the city (one-third) to Ottone Buonvillano for 30 years in return for a small annual rent. Thus the enterprise was, in effect, privatised – as noted above, perhaps a sign that the city itself was wary of taking on such military and financial responsibilities directly. The charter formalising this agreement displayed the familiar blend of motives with the conquest described as for the glory of God and Christendom, for the necessity of Christians and for the glory and profit of Genoa.¹⁴³ In fact this proved to be a short-lived success because within a decade the traditionalist Almohads of North Africa recovered the city in 1157.

Rather than returning home, the Genoese wintered in northern Spain, a move that gave Caffaro a chance to express the customary, although in no way unrealistic, sense of separation from their families experienced by the crusaders. He also wrote that this was done for 'their duty to God and to the city of Genoa.'¹⁴⁴ This decision, although strategically sound, was financially costly because the city

¹³⁹ Caffaro, *CAT*, p. 128. For examples of the ending of disputes across the lands of King Conrad III of Germany, see, Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 44, 88, 95.

¹⁴⁰ Caffaro, *CAT*, pp. 128–29, 132.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 128–32. See also the actions of Walter of Autrèches described by Jean de Joinville in 'The Life of Saint Louis', in *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, tr. C. Smith (London, 2008), pp. 188–89.

¹⁴² Caffaro, *CAT*, pp. 131–32. The figures are discussed by Dotson, 'Caffaro, Crusade, and the *Annales Januensis*', pp. 279–80.

¹⁴³ See **Document 6**, below.

¹⁴⁴ Caffaro, *CAT*, p. 133.

was without large numbers of men and shipping for almost two years, a situation that meant it could not sustain its usual level of trade elsewhere.

The assault on Tortosa was made in conjunction with Count Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona, a dynasty with which the Genoese had enjoyed good relations in previous decades. Also present was Count William VI of Montpellier, a man who had been closely connected with Genoese politics and trade over the years, as well as some Templars and a group of English crusaders who had helped to capture Lisbon the previous autumn.¹⁴⁵

Tortosa was another difficult place to take, not least because its huge defensive ditch frustrated the attackers; Caffaro provides excellent details as to the workings of a siege and the challenges of trying to overcome such an obstacle.¹⁴⁶ In a non-military context, he observed that during both campaigns the Genoese employed their native ruling institution with *parlamenta* frequently used as the forum for decision-making. After an initial phase of fighting a period of diplomacy ended with the surrender of Tortosa on 30 December 1148. Caffaro indicates what a substantial achievement this was and, in the immediate aftermath, it may well have appeared as such. Soon, however, it became apparent that the costs of the campaign had been colossal. Caffaro usually mentioned the acquisition of booty yet he recorded none after the fall of Tortosa; perhaps the inhabitants removed most of their wealth in the truce prior to the surrender, and it was, in any case, a less prosperous city than Almería. Once again Genoese rights were leased to speculators, including Caffaro himself, as private individuals from the major families found ways to help the commune pay off its debt.¹⁴⁷ For example, in **Documents 8a** and **8b** the consuls privatised various tax revenues, explicitly in order to repay 'the very large debt which previous consuls had incurred to pay for the expedition of Tortosa.' By 1153 the commune sold its share of the city to the count of Barcelona.¹⁴⁸ Caffaro's 'Annals' are very limited in their coverage of the years 1149 to 1151 but the arrangements noted here, along with other fundraising deals, show the level of financial trauma that followed its capture.

¹⁴⁵ N. Jaspert, "'Capta est Dertosa: clavis Christianorum'". Tortosa and the Crusades', in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, (eds) J.P. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), pp. 90–110; A.R. Lewis, 'The Guillems of Montpellier: A Sociological Appraisal', *Viator*, 2 (1971), pp. 159–69; G. Constable, 'A Note on the Route of the Anglo-Flemish Crusaders of 1147', *Speculum*, 28 (1953), pp. 525–26; L. Villegas-Aristizábal, 'Anglo-Norman Intervention in the Conquest and Settlement of Tortosa, 1148–1180', *Crusades*, 8 (2009), pp. 63–109.

¹⁴⁶ Caffaro, *CAT*, pp. 133–34 below; R. Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 179–82.

¹⁴⁷ Krueger, 'Post-war Collapse and Rehabilitation in Genoa', pp. 119–28. Krueger's argument has been contested by Williams, 'Making of a Crusade', p. 37. See also Dotson, 'Caffaro, Crusade and the *Annales Januensis*', pp. 281–87.

¹⁴⁸ Epstein, pp. 50–53.

Economic troubles aside, the Genoese took real pride in their crusading achievements. Caffaro's text is one example of that, while more notable was the resolution by the city's leading churchmen to memorialise these events in a fresco on the north wall of the cathedral of San Lorenzo. Only a fragment of this survives, but the decision to place what must have been a substantial image on the wall of their central place of worship shows the importance – not least in religious terms – of this episode. A few years later, the towers of the Porta Soprana, part of the walls constructed in response to the threat of Frederick Barbarossa and described by Caffaro in the 'Annals', made reference to the victories in Iberia, as well as those of Mahdia and the First Crusade, making it plain to all who passed through the gates that this city was the home of formidable Christian warriors.¹⁴⁹

Caffaro: A Summary

Several themes emerge from these three texts. First of all, Caffaro was plain in his understanding of the Genoese as committed holy warriors, as well as men of commerce and of civic pride. For him, these three characteristics sat comfortably alongside one another. Caffaro also shows Genoa's broad and flexible approach to alliances and political alignments in western Europe and in the Holy Land. This certainly created inconsistencies, although few of the other parties involved were immune to that either. As a relatively small player compared to the German Empire or the kingdom of Sicily, Genoa had to hedge its bets, to move when prudent and to keep as many people happy as possible, even when some of those people were enemies with each other. The Ligurians also needed to work hard to deal with their perennial rivals in Pisa and to maximise their economic opportunities. After overcoming the financial crisis of the late 1140s the ruling elite learned to be less concerned with conquests and more interested in rights and privileges.

Caffaro's entry for the 'Annals' of 1157 mentioned envoys sent to Rome, Sicily, the Levant and Constantinople - an impressive range of activity. To this we might add contact with Muslim Spain, southern France, North Africa and Egypt, and from such a list we get a sense of the wider Mediterranean world in which the Genoese operated.¹⁵⁰ At the same time, the city itself grew physically, developed its governmental institutions and, painfully at times, its ruling elites established themselves. Running through this period of evolution was a preparedness to take part in crusading campaigns and thereby to participate in the most dynamic movement of the age. In some ways Caffaro's texts reveal an approach to crusading that is almost identical to that of many contemporary crusade historians across the

¹⁴⁹ Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 84–85; Williams, 'Making of a Crusade', pp. 37–42; Di Fabio, *La cattedrale di Genova nel medioevo secoli vi-xiv* pp. 88–91. On epigraphs in Pisa exalting the achievements of a city in a holy war context, see Campopiano, 'The Problems of Origins in Early Communal Historiography'.

¹⁵⁰ Caffaro, 'Annals', p. 80.

Frankish West; in other respects he offers us a unique, Mediterranean window on this complex and multi-faceted subject, as well as revealing to us his own remarkable career and the history of his beloved home city.

A Short History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem (The *Brevis historia*):

This is an interesting text that Jacopo Doria, with the agreement of the senior men of Genoa, had chained into the city records in 1294.¹⁵¹ With the fall of Acre (1291) a recent memory there was, perhaps, a sense of reflection on the period of Latin rule in the Holy Land, an episode that appeared to be over. The *Brevis historia* is an uneven work of at least two compositors. The text makes references to both Caffaro's 'Annals' and *De liberatione civitatum orientis* for the first decades of the story but then focuses closely on the history of the kingdom of Jerusalem itself with emphasis on the genealogy and marriages of the principal players. The bulk of the text concerns the reigns of King Amalric of Jerusalem (1163–74), King Baldwin IV (1174–85) and the period down to around 1193 and it is from Amalric's accession onwards that the style takes on a more narrative flow. This section seems to have been written as a whole and contains, for example, cross-references to the role of Queen Melisende (1131–52) several pages apart.¹⁵² Evidently the author wished to supplement Caffaro's tradition of historical works and, notwithstanding the emphasis on the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, he wanted to put forwards Genoa's labours as good Christian crusaders in the aftermath of the Battle of Hattin in 1187 as well. The situation in the Holy Land was perceived as of sufficient interest to merit writing the piece and then to keep it in the city archives. The author also provided a context for the arrival of various relics within the city, as well as noting the award of trading privileges which can be corroborated by several of the charters translated here.

It is intriguing to consider from where the writer secured his information. There are elements in common with William of Tyre and his various continuators, but some of the stories are unique to the text and can offer new information and/or corroboration with other sources.¹⁵³ There is no reason, of course, to assume that he used solely written evidence; some of this material may well reflect stories and news in circulation at the time and it is possible that the author was one of the numerous Genoese involved in the Levant in the period c.1187 to 1192.

¹⁵¹ E. Bellomo, 'La "Regni Ierosolimitani brevis hystoria": note circa l'attribuzione e la prospettiva storica di un' "anonima cronaca genovese", *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 102 (1999), pp. 43–79. One suggestion of the author's identity is Oberto Doria mentioned in a preface to Belgrano's text of '*Historia captionis Almarie et Turtuose*', p. 97, although Bellomo is not convinced.

¹⁵² *Brevis Historia*, pp. 153–58.

¹⁵³ Bellomo, 'La "Regni Ierosolimitani brevis hystoria"', pp. 54–79.

The writer of the *Brevis historia* was clearly a partisan of Raymond of Tripoli (like William of Tyre) and he gave the same account found in the Lyon *Eracles* version of the Old French Continuation of William of Tyre for the antipathy between the count and Gerard de Ridefort, the master of the Templars.¹⁵⁴ The author was well informed about the Battle of Hattin and its aftermath, including the journey and arrival of Conrad of Montferrat (as we have seen, a patron of the Genoese during his brief years in power in the Levant) at Tyre. The individuals noted as being with Conrad in Constantinople prior to his fortuitous arrival in the Holy Land can be found in other sources too, thus Ansaldo di Buonvicino and Baldovino Ermenio are mentioned in various charters from both the Levant and Genoa.¹⁵⁵

We should recall that in late 1187 the Genoese sent a letter to the West recounting these events (**Document 18**) and the city evidently had representatives who could report on the situation in the Levant, sources that the *Brevis historia* writer knew or used. He also included a more distinctive and Genoa-specific tale about the fate of the True Cross (or bits of it) and the arrival of various relics in Genoa.¹⁵⁶

The text ends in the early 1190s and it was left to Jacopo Doria to research and complete the account for the years down to 1291. This was done very briefly, again with a concentration on marriages and succession, and finished with the rather disparaging conclusion that the disputed title of Jerusalem had become worthless after the Muslim victory at Acre in 1291.¹⁵⁷

The Manuscript Tradition

This is not a new critical edition of Caffaro's works or of the other texts we have translated. It rests largely on the excellent work of Italian palaeographers. For the 'Annals' of Caffaro and Oberto Cancelliere, the 'History of the Capture of Almería and Tortosa', the 'Liberation of the Cities of the East' and the anonymous 'Short history of the kingdom of Jerusalem' we have relied on the text of Tommaso Belgrano, and for extracts from Ottobono Scriba's 'Annals' on the successor volume by Belgrano and Cesare Imperiale di Sant'Angelo.¹⁵⁸ Their work supersedes that

¹⁵⁴ Hamilton, *The Leper King*, pp. 146–47. See below, pp. 158–59 for this story.

¹⁵⁵ For Ansaldo, see, for example, **Document 19b**, p. 218, below. For Baldovino see 'Quatre titres des Génois à Acre et Tyr', *Archives d'Orient Latin* (1884), p. 223.

¹⁵⁶ *Brevis Historia*, p. 162; V. Polonio, 'Devozioni di lungo corso: lo scalo genovese', in *Genova, Venezia, il Levante nei secoli xii-xiv*, eds G. Ortalli and D. Puncuh (Venice, 2001), pp. 361–67.

¹⁵⁷ *Brevis historia*, p. 167.

¹⁵⁸ L. Belgrano, ed., 'Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de suoi continuatori', *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, 118 vols (Rome, 1887–1993), vols 11–14 *bis* (Rome, 1890–1901), vol. 11 (1890), and L. Belgrano and C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, eds, vol. 12 (1901). Although the *Notitia Episcoporum Ianuensium* is in the manuscripts of Caffaro's works, and in Belgrano's

of Pertz¹⁵⁹ and the editors of the ‘Recueil des historiens des croisades’,¹⁶⁰ whose integration of the early years of the ‘Annals’ into the *Liberatio* we have, like Belgrano, chosen not to follow. We have benefited from unpublished work on some of these texts by Elena Bellomo, and have very occasionally used textual variants suggested by her or by ourselves. Her work strengthens our confidence in the robustness of Belgrano’s edition.

Only three manuscripts survive.¹⁶¹ Belgrano’s text essentially follows that of the oldest, of the 12th–13th centuries now found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (N), and regarded as the official version produced for the Genoese public archive by Iacopo Doria.¹⁶² The fifteenth century manuscript in the British Library (B) has identical contents to N, though with orthographic differences.¹⁶³ The third version (E) is a thirteenth-century copy of N, but without the *Liberatio* or *Brevis Historia*. It was transported by Napoleon to the French Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, where it remains.¹⁶⁴ The great majority of the charters in this book are translated from the texts in the excellent modern edition of *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*.¹⁶⁵ On the evidence of Caffaro himself, it is likely that the Genoese maintained some sort of official archive even before the *podestà* Iacopo de Balduino commissioned a register in 1229, initially of important documents relating to external affairs and, by the mid-thirteenth century, broadened to include key domestic documents too. The earliest manuscript version dates from 1254. The manuscript tradition is complex and fully set out in the introductory volume to *I Libri Iurium*. Sources for the few charters not in this series are identified individually in the text.

edition, vol. 11, pp. 93–94, we have not included it among these texts, since it is of uncertain authorship and not relevant to our theme. It comprises a simple chronology of bishops of Genoa from 1109 to 1133, when the archbishopric was created.

¹⁵⁹ Caffaro (and his continuators), *MGHSS*, 18.1–356.

¹⁶⁰ Caffaro, ‘*De liberatione civitatum Orientis*’, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*, ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Paris 1841–1906), *Historiens Occidentaux*, 5 vols (Paris 1844–95), vol. 5, pp. 41–74.

¹⁶¹ For a full account of the colourful history of these manuscripts, see Belgrano, vol. 11, pp. vii–lix.

¹⁶² Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin, n. 10136.

¹⁶³ London, British Library, Additional MSS, n. 12031.

¹⁶⁴ Paris, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Fonds de Gênes, n. 3, ‘*Historia Januensis, comprenant la chronique de Gênes, de 1101 à 1293, par Caffaro et ses continuateurs*’.

¹⁶⁵ D. Puncuh, A. Rovere et al., *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, 9 vols (Rome, 1992–2002), Introduction and vols 1–1, 1–2 and 1–6. See also, Bach, *La cité de Gênes*, pp. 28–29.

Translation

Caffaro himself has a succinct and straightforward style which contrasts with the structured Latin of the papal letters reproduced in the text, the evolving notarial, legal language of his continuators and the draftsmen of the state treaties in the second half of this volume. It is extraordinary that despite the revival of academic and popular interest in the crusades, no English translation of Caffaro's works has been available (except for *The Capture of Almeria and Tortosa*, see n.1, p. 127 above). We have however benefited occasionally from Monleone's Italian translation of 1923–25 and have used recent Italian translations in the admirable University of Genoa series for much-valued second opinions on difficult passages.¹⁶⁶

Our English text holds closely to the literal meaning and structures of the Latin, whilst seeking to remain true to the writers' varying original purposes. Thus whilst Caffaro's works were originally read out aloud, no doubt to their fullest dramatic effect, the documents also translated here range from formal treaties, through the lapidary and epistolary, to detailed technical regulations and financial arrangements. We recognise that some of our readers will be seeking help in reading the Latin themselves, whilst others will rely wholly on our text.

The difficulties of translating these texts do not usually stem from linguistic complexity. Apart from a few corrupt passages, signposted in the footnotes, Caffaro's grammar and general meaning are clear enough. He was well grounded in Latin but not immersed in classical learning, as befitted a country landowner destined for public affairs and business rather than the church. He had been taught the language of Sallust and Cicero, and used it to portray Genoa and the Genoese as worthy successors of the Roman Republic. In 1100 Genoa's political institutions were new. We have translated '*com(m)une*' as 'commune', but as a term of art, not because early medieval Genoa was anything like a *kibbutz* or modern cooperative. For its constituent confraternities, and its decision-taking bodies, we have retained the Latin words, '*compagnia*', '*concilium*' and '*parlamentum*'. We do not know precisely what they mean, and the modern English equivalents are misleading. The commune owned property, and in a loose sense its business was '*res publica*'. We have translated this phrase variously according to context – 'public assets', 'the public weal', 'affairs of state'. Perhaps the most difficult word of all is '*honor*'. It does, of course, often carry its traditional meaning of 'honour' or 'glory'. But the underlying sense is around honour, respect, status, deriving from accumulated wealth and possessions, from which power and influence follow. In some cases '*honor*' specifically means 'immobile assets' or 'real estate', as against chattels, '*pecunia*' or '*res*'.

Names, both geographical and personal, are a familiar hazard for translators. Wherever possible we have used the modern equivalents of Latin place-names. A few places mentioned in texts cannot be identified with certainty. We have used the

¹⁶⁶ These are listed in the bibliography.

modern Italian forms of Genoese personal names, partly because of their familiarity, but mainly to convey the continuity of Genoese history and the patriotic flavour of Caffaro's writing. We cannot do better than follow David Abulafia's pragmatic approach: 'I have shown rather less consistency in the spelling of names. Our policy has been to convert the Latin names of the Genoese... documents into Italian in accordance with the practice of Italian historians; but no one can pretend that these versions are identical to those of twelfth-century spoken Genoese. Some names, anyhow, are impossible to contort into sensible Italian versions. Some, too, like Frederick and Bohemond, have well-established English forms.'¹⁶⁷ We have reproduced witness-lists in full, and transcribed names from the Latin text where there was no better-known or obvious vernacular alternative.

A third source of difficulty is the sheer richness of vocabulary employed in these texts. Caffaro uses numerous words of Arabic origin, some of them uniquely, especially in the *De Captione* and *De Liberatione*. There are some 20 different words denoting taxes, tolls and duties, and a dozen referring to ships of various types. Brief notes on each of these categories follow, together with one on coinage and money. These are intended, at the risk of over-simplification, as sign-posts to more detailed reading.

Arabic Words

The best comprehensive coverage of arabisms is: G. Pellegrini, *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine, con special riguardo all'Italia*, 2 vols (Brescia, 1972), vol. 1. These words are often flagged as they arise.

Taxes

These texts, especially the treaties and territorial concessions, demonstrate the ubiquity of taxation, especially for sea captains, travellers and city dwellers, and the huge commercial importance of exemption from them. There are many words for taxes and tolls in general, levied by monarchs and other rulers, or by ecclesiastical authorities – '*dacita*', '*dricum*', '*impositio*', '*vectigal*', '*tributum*', '*redditus*'. These might be customary dues rather than specific levies – '*usantiae*', '*usatica*', '*usus*', '*consuetudines*'. '*Regalia*' were specifically the dues collected by virtue of sovereignty. Many taxes were purely commercial. Customs duties were '*commercia*' or '*leda*', which could also, like '*forum*' refer to the charge for being allowed to put goods on sale. Import and export duties were '*introitus*', and '*exitus*'. Harbour dues were '*portaticum*', whilst '*ribaticum*' appears to have been the levy on tying up by the quayside. Taxes were also raised on use of approved official measures of weight or capacity for commodities brought into the city

¹⁶⁷ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, p. 10.

– ‘*scaria*’, ‘*cantarius*’ and ‘*rubus*’ (see **Document 8a**). ‘The Consuls’ Brief’ (a lengthy text from 1143 not included in this volume under pressure of space)¹⁶⁸ refers to a ‘*collecta de mari*’, translated as ‘maritime tax’, a levy for funding naval expeditions from Genoa. Some imperial taxes were paid in kind; in their treaty with Frederick II (1220) Genoese citizens were exempt from ‘*angaria*’ and ‘*perangaria*’, respectively obligations to provide transport or mail service, and to supplement through requisitioning of vehicles. ‘*Caballaria*’, in the same treaty, was the obligation to pay the cost of providing a knight’s service. Epstein helpfully summarises what we know about taxation in Genoa at this time.¹⁶⁹

Ships

There is a wealth of material on ships of the period and on naval warfare. See notably Pryor’s ground-breaking work *Geography, Technology and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649–1571* and his ‘A View From a Masthead: the First Crusade from the Sea’ and its extensive bibliographical notes.¹⁷⁰ It may however be useful for the non-specialist to be guided briefly through the types of ships referred to in these texts.

The ‘*galea*’, or ‘galley’ was the staple ship of the Genoese fleet, propelled by two banks of oars plied by 100 to 108 men. It was capable of carrying booty and *matériel* as well as marines. Other ships which appeared to serve similar functions were ‘*gorabi*’, a small galley (also spelt in these texts ‘*gulabi*’, ‘*golabii*’, ‘*gorabia*’, transcriptions of the Arabic word ‘*ghurab*’), and ‘*gati*’. ‘*Galiota*’ is used once, of Pisan ships laden with treasure and men. It is a variant of ‘*galea*’ and survived in English and other European languages as ‘galliot’ – a small, fast galley. The ‘*sagitteus*’ (also ‘*sagittea*’, ‘*sagitta*’) was also a warship, sometimes qualified as ‘fast escort’. Caffaro refers twice to ‘*salandrii*’ (*De Liberatione*, pp. 119, 120), both times in Byzantine fleets. This is a transliteration of the Greek ‘*χελανδρία*’, ‘transport for cavalry and horses’. A ‘*sandanum*’ (*De Liberatione*, p. 110) accompanied the first Genoese galleys to Antioch; this is probably a variant of ‘*salandrius*’, since the Genoese are recorded as having 25 knights with horses. Caffaro does not use the usual word ‘*tarida*’ for ‘horse transport’. ‘*Barcha*’ was a launch or cutter, sent to intercept Conrad’s ship at Acre (p. 165). Generic words for ‘ship’, were ‘*lignum*’ and ‘*navis*’, a sailing ship (i.e. not powered by oars).

¹⁶⁸ CD, vol. 1, no. 128, pp. 153–66.

¹⁶⁹ Epstein, pp. 38–40, 111–12.

¹⁷⁰ J.H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649–1571* (Cambridge, 1988); idem, ‘View from the Masthead’, pp. 87–152.

Coinage, Money and Exchange

Caffaro takes a close interest in financial matters, including changes in the currency. Excellent detailed material is available, but for most readers a simplified explanation should suffice of this potentially confusing topic.¹⁷¹

It is important to distinguish between the main uses of a currency as medium of exchange, to facilitate transactions; as a unit of account, to enable prices and values to be set and calculations done; and as a store of intrinsic value, or benchmark. The diverse vocabulary found in these texts reflects these distinct functions.

The primary unit of currency circulating in the western world at this time was the silver ‘*denarius*’ or penny, known variously as ‘*denier*’, ‘*dinero*’, ‘*pfennig*’, etc. ‘This was basically a system of counting coins, rather than a system of money,’ which gave rise to great inconvenience, because of the weight and volume of coins.¹⁷² The *solidus*, or shilling (‘*schilling*’, ‘*sou*’), was a unit of account, but not a coin, based on an ancient Roman gold coin, constituting 12 ‘*denarii*’. Twenty ‘*solidi*’ constituted a ‘*libra*’, or pound. Thus larger amounts of money were expressed in a combination of ‘*librae*’, ‘*solidi*’ and ‘*denarii*’. In the form of pounds, shillings and pence, this system survived in the United Kingdom until the introduction of decimal coinage in 1971.

There was no universally accepted currency following the breakdown of Carolingian society. Different towns and cities had the right to mint coins, by tradition or grant, and the silver content of the local currencies varied between *denarii* of different cities, and also over time within the coinage of a single city. Although a city without a mint would commonly use as standard the coins of another, coins from other cities had to be converted into the local currency to make payments there. Exchange rates were determined by the relative current silver content of the currencies in question. There are specific references in the ‘Annals’ to ‘*denarii*’ and ‘*solidi*’ of Poitiers and of Pavia. The latter’s coinage was almost universally used in Genoa until the city was given the right to mint its own currency by King Conrad III of Germany in 1138.¹⁷³ During the eleventh century the Pavian *denarius* had silver content of 85 per cent and could be regarded as

¹⁷¹ P. Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London, 1986), pp. xix–xxxii; idem, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 74–131; A. Stahl, ‘Genova e Venezia, la moneta del xii al xiv secolo’, pp. 319–34; V. Slessarev, ‘The Pound-Value of Genoa’s Maritime Trade in 1161’, in *Economy, Society, and Government in Medieval Italy. Essays in Memory of Robert L. Reynolds*, eds D. Herlihy, R.S. Lopez and V. Slessarev (Kent, OH, 1969), pp. 95–111; M. Chiaudano, ‘La moneta di Genova nel secolo xii’, in *Studi in onore di Armando Saporiti*, 2 vols (Milan, 1957), vol. 1, pp. 189–214. Dotson, ‘Caffaro, Crusade, and the *Annales Januensis*’, p. 276, n. 3.

¹⁷² Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, p. xxi; A.V. Murray, ‘Money and Logistics in the Forces of the First Crusade: Coinage, Bullion, Service and Supply’, in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. J.H. Pryor (Farnham, 2006), pp. 229–50.

¹⁷³ For this grant, see *LI*, vol. 1/2, no. 283, pp. 16–18.

a safe proxy for a known weight of silver. The Pavian currency was re-named ‘*bruniti*’ in 1102 (p. 57), and depreciated again to become ‘*bruniti minores*’ in 1115 (p. 58), with a silver content of only 50 per cent. By 1140, Genoese *denarii* were only one-third silver, but still worth about half as much again as those of Pavia. Debasement continued throughout the rest of the century.

In a world where the silver content of any currency could not be relied upon, a benchmark was needed. This was the silver mark, or ‘*marca*’, which represented a fixed weight of fine, or assayed, silver. There were again geographical variations on the precise weight of a mark. The mark of Cologne was widely used in Genoa. Sometimes the value to be delivered was expressed in payment in ‘*unciae*’ (ounces) of gold, with 1 *uncia* in 1121 equivalent to 10 Pavian *solidi* [see p. 104]. During the whole of the twelfth century silver heavily predominated in the Christian west, and no gold coins were minted there with the exception of Norman Sicily.

Byzantium and the Muslim cities did however mint gold coins, which circulated in the West. Following the currency reforms of the Byzantine emperor Alexios Komnenos (1081–1118), the basic unit was the gold ‘*hyperperus*’, or ‘*perperus*’, which replaced the debased gold *solidus*, and was also known as a ‘*byzantion*’ or ‘*bezant*’. The Muslims of North Africa and Spain minted gold ‘*marabotini*’, or *dinars* (variously spelt, see pp. 102, 105, below), of roughly the same weight as the *hyperperus*.¹⁷⁴ The lighter Sicilian equivalent was the ‘*tari*’ (‘*tarus*’, ‘*tarenus*’).¹⁷⁵

The account of the Genoese delegation to Rome in 1121, is particularly rich in financial language. Caffaro shows throughout the ‘*Annals*’ a good technical grasp of financial matters and a strong sense of the fiduciary duties of magistrates.

Weights and Measures

These texts use a range of terms denoting weights and measures. The best authority remains P. Rocca, *Pesi e misure antiche di Genova e del Genovesato* (Genoa, 1871), available on-line. It contains a helpful table of measures of distance, length, weight and volume, with metric equivalents, on pp. 106–10. A Genoese mile (1486.56 m, according to Rocca) was fractionally shorter than an ancient Roman mile, and comprised 8 ‘*stadia*’ (furlongs), 1,000 ‘*passus*’ (paces), 5,000 ‘*pedes*’ (feet) and 8,000 ‘*palmae*’ (spans). Whilst commercial weights and measures were officially controlled, references to geographical distances were often necessarily more approximate.

¹⁷⁴ On the exchange value of the *marabotinus*, see Dotson, *Caffaro, Crusade, and the Annales Januensis*, p. 276, note 23.

¹⁷⁵ On the *tari*, see: P. Grierson and L. Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage 14: Italy (III), (South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia)* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 39–40, 61, 68–69.

Caffaro's 'Annals' of Genoa, 1099–1163

The text we have translated is that in L. Belgrano, ed., 'Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de suoi continuatori', (Rome, 1890–1929), vols. 11–14 bis, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 118 vols (Rome 1887–1993), vol. 1, pp.3–75. Page numbers refer to this text.

p. 3 Whoever for his own benefit or on behalf of someone else wants to know about earlier years, from the time of the expedition to Caesarea until the present, let him discover and read this record based on Caffaro's recollection, and let him recognise the truth in what he has read. For because Caffaro held office in several of the consular colleges of the city of Genoa between the expedition I have mentioned and now, and both observed and knew personally the other men who were consuls from the date I have mentioned, searching in both his heart and his mind, he himself dictated the names, dates and categories of consular college and *compagnie*,¹ the victories and the changes in the currency which took place in those same consular periods, as you can read in what follows, and showed the transcript at a plenary meeting of the council to the consuls at the time, Tanclerio, Rubaldo Bisaccia and Ansaldo Spinola.² Moreover the consuls, when they had listened to the advice of the council-members, in open session of the council instructed Guglielmo di Colomba, the public scribe, to write the book which had been composed and recorded by Caffaro, and to deposit it in the state archive, **p. 4** so that the victories of Genoa might be known to men in the future for all time thereafter. – the time when they set off in 1100 and returned in 1101.³

'Genoa was safe when he was consul long ago,
That city which inspired the deeds he knew in the order they happened as you see.
His name was Caffaro, and this picture here portrays him.⁴
And may his noble offspring live forever.'

p. 5 Just before the time of the expedition to Caesarea, a *compagnia* of three years began, with six consuls. These were their names: Amico Brusco, Mauro di

¹ '*Compagnia/compagna*'. We have retained the Latin, rather than translating. The sense is of a sworn group or association, over a fixed period of time, and the exact meaning derives from the context. Here it is more or less synonymous with 'commune'. For further background on the commune, *compagnie* and consuls, see Epstein, *Genoa*, pp. 33–37. Caffaro does not make it clear whether 1101 marks the start of the commune.

² 1152.

³ Colomba was appointed in 1140 (see p. 67 below).

⁴ The illustration reproduced on the frontispiece appears beside these verses in Manuscript N.

Piazzalunga, Guido di Rustico di Rizo, Pagano della Volta, Ansaldo di Brasile and Buonmatto di Medolico. They were all consuls *de comuni* and *de placitis* for the three-year term to which I have referred.⁵ A year and a half into their term, they left the city of Genoa with 26 galleys and six ships on the first of August [1100], and reached Jerusalem.⁶ They went to the port of Latakia with an army, and stayed there throughout the winter. They found the eastern lands with the throne of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch vacant.⁷ They kept the areas I have mentioned safe and secure until they installed a king in Jerusalem and a prince in Antioch on the instructions of the legate of the Roman *curia* and at their own request, in the following manner.⁸ They immediately conferred with the legate of the Roman *curia*, and sent messengers to Baldwin in Edessa and to Tancred in Tiberias, to seek their presence. Tancred arrived without delay, and on the instructions of the legate and the Genoese, he took possession of the principality of Antioch. Baldwin came later with 200 knights and 300 infantry to the port of Latakia to confer with the Genoese.⁹ There he was solemnly urged by the legate and by the Genoese to accept the kingdom of Jerusalem, and he made promises and spoke to them as follows: 'If you promise to give me your help **p. 6** this summer in capturing two Saracen cities that I want, I shall promise to go now to take possession of the kingdom.' The Genoese immediately gave their full commitment to do what the king had asked. At that Baldwin promised to accept the kingdom, and said: 'I shall begin my journey to take possession of the kingdom trusting in God and in you.' After three days he set off on the journey with the knights and infantry I have mentioned.

But when he had reached the defile of Beirut, he encountered 3,000 Turkish knights in position above the pass. When Baldwin realised that he could not proceed through the defile, he put on his armour, mounted his horse, and pretended to retreat. The Turkish horde, however, immediately came down the side of the pass, and on to the level ground. When Baldwin was sure that the Turks were in a level area, he bravely turned his face and his weapons with all his knights against

⁵ Consuls *de comuni* were responsible for administration, diplomacy and military leadership, consuls *de placitis* for dispensing justice in less serious cases. See n.1 above.

⁶ This reads strangely. It seems unlikely, especially in the light of what Caffaro says in the *De Liberatione*, p. 118 below, that the Genoese went to Jerusalem first before wintering in Latakia.

⁷ Godfrey of Bouillon died on 18 July 1099, and Bohemond I of Antioch was captured by Malik Ghazi, the Danishmend Turk, in mid-August 1100. See M.C. Barber, *The Crusader States* (London, 2012), pp. 50–64, 77–81.

⁸ The papal legate was Maurizio, cardinal-bishop of Porto (Portuensis). His see was near Rome, based at the mouth of the Tiber, opposite Ostia. His appointment as legate was announced by Pope Paschal II in a letter of May 1100. See Robinson, *Papacy*, pp. 33–35, 350–51.

⁹ This episode is also related by Albert of Aachen, although he does not mention the Genoese; AA, pp. 530–31.

the enemies of God. When the Turkish knights saw Baldwin advancing so fiercely, they turned tail and abandoned their weapons, and began to flee to the pass on their horses. But God's warrior Baldwin followed them, slaying them as he went, and before they could reach the pass, he left nearly all of them dead on the open ground.¹⁰ He took possession of their weapons and horses and everything they were carrying with them, and following military custom, he distributed a share to his knights and infantry.

p. 7 He arrived at Jerusalem with this victory behind him, and he was received joyfully there by the patriarch Daimbert and all its inhabitants [early November 1100].¹¹ Seated on the royal throne, he accepted the crown of the kingdom, and ruled and held the kingdom courageously for 17 years thereafter.¹²

The Genoese, whilst they wintered in the city of Latakia, destroyed many positions and forts of the Saracens around that area. And when Lent came, they left Latakia with their galleys and sailing ships and their whole army. They made their way past the coastal cities, which at that time were in the hands of the Saracens, as far as the city of Haifa, killing many Saracens from those cities. And there they hauled their galleys on to the beach of Haifa, to avoid the angry seas. While they were inactive there, an Egyptian fleet of 40 galleys hurriedly arrived in the course of a single night at the port of Acre, passing close to the city of Haifa, during a great storm at sea. The Genoese immediately put some of their galleys to sea that night. They followed the fleet but because of the storm became separated in their turn. Early next morning, on Palm Sunday, they celebrated the holy offices with prayers, and that Monday [15 April 1101] they began their expedition against Jaffa with all their galleys. As they drew near Jaffa, King Baldwin went out to meet the Genoese a mile offshore from the city, with two fast escort ships¹³ and with trumpets and many battle standards, to greet them and thank them for coming to serve God and the kingdom of Jerusalem, without delay, as they had promised. So arriving at Jaffa with the king, the Genoese wasted no time in drawing up all their galleys on dry land. On Holy Wednesday they went to Jerusalem with King Baldwin, and there on Easter Eve they went to the Holy Sepulchre, fasted for a day and a night,

¹⁰ 'Miles Dei' – 'God's warrior'. AA, pp. 536–37 describes Baldwin as '*semper miles imperterritus*' / 'always the undaunted knight' in his account of this battle (pp. 532–39). See also the eye-witness account of Fulcher, pp. 357–61; trans. pp. 138–42.

¹¹ The relationship between Baldwin and Daimbert was a difficult one with the relationship between Church and State being at the heart of their troubles. See Robinson, *Papacy*, pp. 352–57; B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980), pp. 53–57.

¹² Godfrey, his predecessor, had declined to assume the royal title in God's city and the place where Christ was killed. Baldwin was crowned in Bethlehem, avoiding Jerusalem for the same reason. A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History, 1099–1125* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 63–77.

¹³ '*sagittei*'.

and watched for Christ's radiance to appear.¹⁴ But it did not appear that day or night, and standing like that in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre without any light they again and again called out with one voice '*Kyrie eleison, kyrie eleison*'.¹⁵

p. 8 When morning came, on the day of the resurrection of our Lord [21 April 1101], Patriarch Daimbert, together with Maurizio, bishop of Porto and legate of the papal *curia*, delivered the following sermon: 'Brothers, please listen to me. I see that you are downcast, because the Lord has not sent His light from heaven in the way He usually does. You should not feel unhappy because of this, but you should be joyful, because God does not work miracles on account of believers, but for the benefit of unbelievers.¹⁶ And so long as this holy city was in the power of the unbelievers, it was good and right that God should lead the non-believers back to the faith by working miracles. Thus now, since it is in the power of the believers, miracles are unnecessary. Yet because we believe that many amongst you are weak in your Christian faith and without belief, let us pray to God to let His light shine, just as has been His custom on account of the lack of belief of the unbelievers. Wherefore let us all proceed to the Temple of the Lord with prayer, and there, if our Lord hears us after some delay, let us add our prayers to our earlier prayers, until we successfully obtain what we seek. Know, my brothers, that God promised such a gift to his servant Solomon after he had completed the Temple of the Lord, with the following words: "Whoever enters the Temple and seeks a gift of the spirit with a heart which is clear of guilt, God promised to give it to him".'¹⁷

Then when the sermon was finished, the patriarch with the legate of the Roman *curia* and King Baldwin, and all the rest of the Christians following them, came to the Temple of the Lord barefoot and with great piety. They all humbly prayed to God at the entrance to the Temple with many prayers and invocations that at that moment on the day of His resurrection God in His mercy would show that same light to His own faithful, which in the time of the unbelievers used to come to the Holy Sepulchre every single year. After praying in the Temple, they went back with prayers to the Sepulchre of the Lord. And immediately the patriarch, with the legate of the Roman *curia*, went into the enclosed space of the Sepulchre three times, **p. 9** and the third time the light appeared in one of the lamps of the Sepulchre. So all were joyful, and all sang the *Te Deum laudamus*¹⁸ with one voice, and heard the Sunday mass. After mass, they all went to their lodgings to refresh their bodies.¹⁹ And again, as they walked around the ambulatory of the

¹⁴ See Introduction, pp. 7–8 for various accounts of this episode.

¹⁵ 'Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy.'

¹⁶ I Corinthians 14.22. In this instance the 'Temple of the Lord' refers to the *Templum Domini*, known to Muslims as the Dome of the Rock, see Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 3, pp. 397–417.

¹⁷ II Chronicles 7.1–15.

¹⁸ 'We praise thee, O Lord.'

¹⁹ '*ad refocillanda corpora omnes ad ospitium perrexerunt*', '*ospitium*', probably denotes a hostel for pilgrims, though it can refer to any lodging place or inn. '*Refocillare*'

church, outside the Sepulchre itself, the light began to burn in one of the lamps, in the presence of many witnesses. When the clarion call of such a great miracle resounded through the city, everyone rushed to the Sepulchre. And there every single person looked up at the lights, which were outside the actual Sepulchre, in the ambulatory of the church, as each light one after another in turn caught fire in the same way, as a fiery smoke rose all the way to the wick through the water and oil, and began to burn as the wicks were struck by three sparks. Thus on the Day of the Resurrection, after none,²⁰ the light appeared in 16 lamps in the way I have described in front of everybody. And Caffaro, who caused this to be recorded in writing, was there and saw; his evidence is based on that, and he asserts the truth of this event to be beyond doubt.

The Genoese went to the River Jordan during Holy Week, then returned to Jaffa with the king, and held a council meeting there. From there they reached Arsuf, and captured it after three days fighting. Then in the month of May they reached Caesarea, and immediately beached their galleys. They ravaged all the cultivated land right up to the city walls and began to build siege-towers and siege engines.²¹ Meanwhile two Saracens came out of the city, and spoke along these lines to the patriarch and the legate of the Roman *curia*: 'My lords, you who are masters and doctors in Christian law,²² **p. 10** why are you instructing your followers to kill us and ruin our land, when it has been written in your law that no one should kill any being with the appearance of your God, or destroy his property? If it is true that this is written in your law, and we have the appearance of your God, you are acting illegally.'²³ The patriarch responded to them as follows, when they had said this and much more: 'It is true that it is written in our law that you should not seize another person's goods or kill people, and we are unwilling to do those things or instruct others to do them. But this city is not yours, but was and should still belong to St Peter, whom your ancestors expelled from it by force. If we, who are

is an unusual, post-classical form, but Caffaro's readers would be familiar with its use in the Vulgate Bible in the story of David, with the connotation of both physical and spiritual refreshment, see I Samuel 16.23 and 30.12.

²⁰ '*post nonam*' 'none' was a short period of prescribed prayer, in mid-afternoon.

²¹ The need to take Caesarea was considerable, primarily because the town was in communication with the Fatimids of Egypt who had, according to Albert of Aachen, already sent 500 Ethiopian mercenaries to help defend the place. Al-Afdal Shahanshah, the Fatimid vizier, was planning a major attack which led to a battle near Ramla in September 1101 in which both sides sustained heavy losses, although the Egyptians retreated. The capture of Arsuf and Caesarea did much to bolster the Frankish hold on the coast and to prepare the ground for a future assault on Acre, the best port in the region. AA, pp. 566–67; Barber, *Crusader States*, pp. 69–71.

²² This is addressed specifically to the senior clerics.

²³ See the Introduction, pp. 8–9 for a discussion of these comments.

the vicars of St Peter, wish to recover his land, it is not our wish to seize yours.²⁴ On killing, however, our response is as follows. He who is hostile to the law of God and fights to destroy His law should be killed as a just requital; if he is killed, this is not against the law of God, because God said: “I too will claim the price which is due to me.²⁵ – I shall strike, and I shall make well, and there is no one who can escape my hand.” This is why we demand that you return the land of St Peter to us. [If you do so], we will let you withdraw unharmed with your lives and your possessions. But if you do not return it, the Lord will smite you with his sword, and you will be deservedly killed. So go now, and report to your leaders what you have heard.’

They immediately returned to the city, and fully and accurately reported everything they had heard to the emir, who was the lord of the warriors, and the *qadi*, who was responsible for the merchants. Indeed the *qadi* wanted to concede the surrender of the city. But the emir said: ‘I shall not surrender the city. Let our swords be tested by the swords of the Genoese. And with the help of Muhammad we shall make them retreat from the city with dishonour.’ When the arrogance of the Saracens became apparent to the Christians, the patriarch immediately said to the consuls: ‘Call a meeting of the people’, and they did so.²⁶ And in the meeting the patriarch delivered a sermon to the people: ‘Brothers, since you have come to these regions in the service of God and of the most Holy Sepulchre, it is right and just that you should faithfully obey the teachings and instructions of God and of those who believe in Him. **p. 11** For God orders and commands you through me, this Friday morning, the day of His Passion, on which He underwent death on earth for your redemption, to partake of the Lord’s body and blood, and then to start climbing the walls of the city just with ladders from the galleys, and without siege-towers and siege engines. If you do this, in the belief that it is by God’s courage and not your own that you hold the city, I prophesy to you that God will place this city in your power, with its men and women, its treasure, and everything inside the city,

²⁴ The reference to St Peter is a conscious echo of the siege of Antioch in the First Crusade as well as Daimbert’s role as a papal legate; with regard to the latter, he would have read Pope Paschal II’s letter of 1100 that reminded the crusaders that they had begun the crusade ‘through the vicar of St Peter.... you should abound always in the consolation of St Peter and to the end hold him, whom you accepted as the foundation of such a great work as your head in faith and obedience.... You ought to submit ... to St Peter’. As cited by J.S.C. Riley-Smith, ‘The First Crusade and St Peter’, in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*, eds B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer and R.C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 52–53.

²⁵ ‘*michi vindictam et ego retribuam*’; Deuteronomy 32.35, 39.

²⁶ ‘*parlamentum*’, Caffaro treats the army as a *compagnia*. See also events at Almería, p. 131, below. Albert of Aachen also reported a sermon and confession prior to the final assault, AA, pp. 564–65.

before sext.²⁷ When the sermon was over, all shouted as one 'Let it be so! Let it be so!'²⁸ Then Guglielmo Testadimaglio, the consul in command of the Genoese army, stood up and said: 'Citizens and warriors of God, do not be slow in fulfilling God's orders, which you have just heard through the patriarch.²⁹ We accordingly order you, under the obligations of your oath, in the morning after mass, after you have made your confessions and partaken of the body and blood of the Lord, to make your attempt on the city wall without delay, with me in the lead and the rest of you following, just with the ladders from the galleys, and without siege towers and siege-engines. God willing, I shall be the first to start scaling the wall. When you see me climbing it, don't hesitate to do the same.'

When morning came, they valiantly began to execute all the orders I have described. For when all the ladders had been placed against the wall, the consul Guglielmo Testadimaglio, with just his breastplate and helmet and sword, and with many following him, climbed the ladder right to the top of the wall, and was left alone on the wall. The ladder was shattered, and all those who were following him fell to the ground. The city had an inner encircling wall, and all the Saracens had fled behind this intermediate wall and were regrouping inside. When the consul could see none of the men who were following him, he began to pray to God to reveal a better plan to him. Without hesitating he immediately started to ascend one of the towers; and when he had got to the top, a Saracen who was coming down the tower flung himself on top of him. He gripped the consul powerfully with his arms, and the consul held him. As they came tumbling down, the Saracen said: 'Let go of me, and it will be for your own good, as you'll be able to get up the tower faster and safer.' **p. 12** Guglielmo immediately let him go, and rapidly climbed on upwards. When he was at the top of the tower, he gave a signal with his sword to the besiegers of the city, and shouted: 'Climb up, climb up, and capture the city quickly.' At that they all climbed over the wall together, and pursued and killed many of the Saracens who were fleeing to the intermediate wall. Once the rest of the Saracens had regrouped behind this other wall, they called upon Muhammad to help them, and started resisting the Christians with swords and missiles to stop them entering the city. But the Genoese were wearing the cross on their right shoulders, and climbing over the city wall with the aid of a fallen palm tree and calling on Christ to help³⁰ them, they instantly locked swords with the Saracens. At that point the Saracens abandoned their swords and other weapons, and began to seek refuge in the mosque. Before the Saracens could reach the mosque, the Genoese, paying no attention to the soldiers who had died on the walls and in corners throughout the city, and all the Christians, made their

²⁷ 'Sext' was one of seven canonical hours of obligatory prayer, around noon.

²⁸ Psalm 106.48 '*fiat, fiat*' (Vulgate 105.48).

²⁹ '*Caputmallus*', 'Hammerhead' was apparently a nickname for Guglielmo Embriaco. On his career see Introduction, p. 11, n. 32.

³⁰ '*auxilio*', 'with the help of', is preferred to Belgrano's '*aminiculo*'.

way straight to the mosque with the patriarch. A thousand rich merchants who had climbed up the minaret of the mosque began to shout at the patriarch: 'My lord, my lord, give us an assurance that we will not die, since we have the appearance of Christ your God, and we will give you everything we possess.' The patriarch sought the agreement of the Genoese to give an assurance, and the Genoese gave him authority. Having given that assurance, they straightaway went through the city capturing men and women and a great deal of treasure.³¹ They had everything inside the city under their control. With God's help, everything which had been set in hand that day had been achieved by sext, just as Patriarch Daimbert had told the Genoese it would be. Furthermore, after a few days, Maurizio, bishop of Porto and legate of the Roman *curia*, consecrated many churches in the city we have been discussing, of which the most important one, which had been the mosque, and which is now the seat of a bishop, was dedicated to St Peter, and another to St Lawrence.³² In these churches and throughout the city, **p. 13** the name of Jesus Christ is adored and worshipped, whilst the diabolical name of Muhammad has been expelled from the city and is not revered.

Then the Genoese came with the galleys and the whole army to the beach of San Parlerio near St Symeon, and pitched camp.³³ They first set aside one-fifteenth of the booty in the camp for the galley crews. The remainder they divided among 8,000 men, and gave to each as his share 48 *solidi* in the coin of Poitou,³⁴ and two pounds of peppercorns, except for the rewards due to the consuls, the sea-captains, and men of quality, which were substantial. They started their journey back to Genoa on the Eve of St James the Apostle [24 July]; and they arrived back in the month of October, 1101 in triumph and covered in glory.³⁵ [As] with the first Frankish army against Antioch in 1097, in the African expedition in 1088 [correctly 1087], in the first expedition to Tortosa in 1093, and when Jerusalem was taken in 1099.³⁶

³¹ Fulcher, pp. 400–415; trans. pp. 153–58 and AA, pp. 566–67, agree on a rich booty and many prisoners. Caesarea fell on 17 May 1101 after a siege of 15 days.

³² St Lawrence (San Lorenzo) was the patron saint of Genoa's own cathedral, dedicated in 1118. On the churches in Caesarea, see Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 1, pp. 166–80.

³³ On San Parlerio, see Belgrano, vol. 1, p. 13, n. 2. St Symeon (Solinum/ Sulinum), port of Antioch, now Suadiye in Turkey, at the mouth of the Orontes.

³⁴ For a note on coinage and currency, and on peppercorns as a store of value, see Introduction, pp. 11, 47–48.

³⁵ Thus the journey home took between 9 and 13 weeks.

³⁶ Caffaro reminds his readers of Genoa's earlier engagement in the fight against Islam. See *De Liberatione*, pp. 109–16, below, for his coverage of its part in operations during the First Crusade at the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem. For the 1087 expedition against Mahdia (now in Tunisia), see H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'The Mahdia campaign of 1087', *English Historical Review*, 92 (1977), pp. 1–29. For a discussion of this phrase in a wider crusading context, see Phillips, 'Caffaro of Genoa and the Motives of the Early Crusaders'.

On the first of the following February [1102], a four-year *compagnia* with four consuls began. The first year of this consulate marked the end of the old Pavian *denarii* as currency and a different currency was started using the new coinage of *bruniti*. The consuls *de comuni* and *de placitis* for this four year term were Guglielmo Embriaco, Guido di Rustico di Rizo, Ido di Carmadino and Guido Spinola. **p. 14** Also during their period of office 40 Genoese galleys reached Jerusalem and captured Acre and Jubayl in battle.³⁷ Many other victories accrued to the city of Genoa. In 1102, the first year of this *compagnia*, Tartus in Syria was captured.³⁸ The second, third and fourth years were respectively 1103, 1104 and 1105.

When this four year term had elapsed, another *compagnia* began, likewise of four years and with four consuls, who held consular office *de comuni* and *de placitis* throughout those years. The following were consuls: Mauro di Piazzalunga, Iterio, Gulielmo Malabito and Ottone Fornario. During their term of office, 60 galleys went to Jerusalem from Genoa, and attacked Tripoli with many siege-towers and siege-engines. They captured that city, took possession of Jableh by force, had churches consecrated and made the name of Jesus Christ praised and worshipped.³⁹ In the first year of this *compagnia*, Bohemond brought his wife from France to Genoa, and then to Apulia, where he sired a son named Bohemond, who ruled over Antioch after his father's death, fathered a daughter, and after his own death bequeathed Antioch to her.⁴⁰ The first year of this *compagnia* was 1106, the second 1107, the third 1108, and the fourth 1109.

p. 15 When that *compagnia* had run its course, another began, with four consuls over a term of four years. The consuls' names were: Guglielmo Bufeira the Elder, Guido di Rustico di Rizo, Gandolfo Rufo and Guido Spinola. They held consular

³⁷ Jubayl, 'Gibelletum', Gibelet or 'Gibellum minor'; also known as Byblos, now in Lebanon, was captured on 28 April, and Acre on 26 May 1104. For the latter, see Caffaro's account in *LCO*, p. 123.

³⁸ In Latin 'Tortosa'

³⁹ 'Gibellum major south of Latakia, now Jableh (also spelt in the Roman alphabet: Jabala, Jablah, Jabalah, Gabala) in Syria. Both Gibellum minor and Gibellum major are often abbreviated to 'Gibellum'. Tripoli was captured on 12 July, and Jableh on 23 July 1109, see Fulcher, pp. 531–33; trans. pp. 195–96 and the Muslim view from Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London, 1932), pp. 88–90; Barber, *Crusader States*, pp. 91–93.

⁴⁰ Constance, daughter of King Philip I of France (1060–1108). Their son was Bohemond II, who married Alice, daughter of Baldwin II of Jerusalem; Bohemond II died in 1130. Their daughter Constance married first Raymond of Poitiers (1136), and after his death in 1149, Reynald of Châtillon. On Bohemond's visit to the West, see: B. Whalen, 'God's Will or Not? Bohemond's Campaign Against the Byzantine Empire (1105–1108)', in *Crusades – Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, eds T.F. Madden, J.L. Naus and V. Ryan (Farnham, 2010), pp. 111–26. On the marriages of Bohemond II's daughter, see Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 44–72.

office *de comuni* and *de placitis* for those four years. During their period of office the Genoese captured Beirut [13 May 1110] and Mamistra with a fleet of 22 galleys.⁴¹ This took place in the first year of this *compagnia*, that is to say 1110.

During that *compagnia*, the fortified towns of Lavagna, Pedenzuca and others, whose lords had up to that point been resisting, were defeated, and were handed over to the commune of Genoa in perpetuity. Furthermore the consuls I have mentioned had the fort of Portovenere constructed as a possession of the city of Genoa.⁴² This took place in the final year of this *compagnia*, that is 1113. The first year of the *compagnia* was 1110, the second 1111, the third 1112, and the fourth 1113.

Then another *compagnia* began on the same basis, with four consuls for four years. Their names were Ogerio Capra, Lamberto Guezo, Lanfranco Roza and Oberto Malocello. They all held consular office *de comuni* and *de placitis* for those four years. The first year of this *compagnia* was 1114, the second 1115, the third 1116 and the fourth 1117. **p. 16** In the month of October in the second year of this consular term, the *denarii bruni* which had been the previous new currency stopped being minted, and a new currency of smaller *bruniti* was inaugurated.⁴³

When that *compagnia* was completed, another of four years' duration was begun. Four consuls were elected for two years, and another four for the other two years. The consuls for the first two years were Ottone di Garaldo, Iterio, Ido di Carmadino and Ottone Fornario. For the following two years, the consuls were Opizzo Musso, Gandolfo Rufo, Lanfranco Roza and Guido Spinola. All those listed above were consuls *de comuni* and *de placitis*.

In the first year of this *compagnia*, that is in the consulate of Ottone di Garaldo, Iterio, Ido di Carmadino and Ottone Fornario, the church of San Lorenzo was consecrated by Pope Gelasius, in the month of October 1118. In the second year of this *compagnia* and of these same consuls, a war with the Pisans began, and some Pisans were taken prisoner in Golo with a large treasure, by 16 Genoese galleys, in the month of May, 1119.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Mamistra, now Ceyhan Nehri in Turkey, east of Adana. Mamistra is an inland town and was probably captured in 1109, having been conquered during the First Crusade, then taken by the Byzantines. See AA, pp. 778–79, n. 11.

⁴² '*ad honorem civitatis Ianue*'.

⁴³ '*Denarii bruni*', or '*bruniti*' were introduced in 1102, see p. 57 and Introduction, p. 48 above.

⁴⁴ '*in Gaulo*'. '*Gaulus*' occurs in classical Latin with the meaning 'round merchant ship.' We have however followed Airaldi and Belgrano in translating '*Gaulo*' as a place name. See Airaldi, *Annali*, p. 75, n. 20, identifying it with the island of Gozo. More likely, given the contemporary struggle is the River Golo on the island of Corsica, a location much closer to the warring cities.

In the first year of the [second] consulate, that of Opizzo Musso and his colleagues, that is the first year of the consulate and the third of the *compagnia* [1120], the Genoese made for Porto Pisano with a large army and 80 galleys, 35 'gati' and 28 *gulabi*, as well as four big sailing ships, carrying siege-engines and all the equipment necessary for battle, as well as 22,000 fighting men, knights and infantry, including 5,000 soldiers fitted with iron breastplates and helmets which were as white as snow.⁴⁵ **p. 17** They so terrified the Pisan army which was drawn up by the shore that in the month of September, during the celebration of Saints Cornelius and Cyprian and of the raising of the Holy Cross,⁴⁶ the Pisans in this same army took oaths of peace in accordance with the wishes of the Genoese in the matter of the Corsican dispute. Some elements of the fleet of galleys split off from the others and went to Pisa, where the Genoese rescued captives from the prison there and took them back to Genoa in their galleys in the year 1120. In the second year of the consulate of Opizzo Musso and his colleagues, the Genoese crossed the pass of I Giovi⁴⁷ with a large army of knights and foot-soldiers, captured by force Fiaccone, Chiappino, Mondasco and Pietra Beccaria, and purchased from Alberto, *marchio* of Gavi, the fortress of Voltaggio and its revenues for 400 *lire*, in the year 1121.⁴⁸ May the truth be known through this written record, as to the consulates and the names of the consuls for this year, both *de comuni* and *de placitis*, how they adjudicated cases through the various periods, and what favourable events took place in each year.

In the first annual consulate the consuls were Primo de Castro, Caffaro, Ottone di Mare and Guglielmo Giudice di Drubecco. They were consuls both *de comuni* and *de placitis*. In that same year there were many developments favourable to the Genoese in the fighting against the Pisans. For the Genoese captured many Pisans in battle on Pisan territory, and took over a thousand of them prisoner and put them in prison in Genoa. **p. 18** They bravely defeated two galleys in battle with two of their own, and took the galleys, men wounded and in chains, and treasure back to Genoa. On board those Genoese galleys were Gandolfo di Mazo, Rubaldo Naplono, Buonvassallo Censo, Guglielmo Rufo di Curia and many other highly capable men. During this consulate, mace-bearers, scribes and a chancellor were

⁴⁵ See the Introduction, p. 46 for these different types of vessel. If Caffaro's numbers are correct, this was a huge fleet, comparable to the Genoese force at Almería in 1147 at 63 galleys and 163 other ships. See Caffaro, *CAT*, p. 129 below. The Northern European fleet that sailed from Dartmouth to Lisbon in 1147 numbered around 160–200 according to several contemporaries. See Phillips, *Second Crusade*, p. 143.

⁴⁶ 16 September and 14 September respectively, treated as a continuous religious festival by Caffaro.

⁴⁷ 'Iugum', the mountain pass north of Genoa linking it to the Upper Po valley.

⁴⁸ On the strategic importance of this pass and Genoa's dealings with the lords of Gavi, see Epstein, , p. 42.

first appointed for the service of the municipality.⁴⁹ The fire in Saint Ambrose took place during this consulate, in the year of our Lord 1122.⁵⁰

In the second annual consulate, the consuls were Ogerio Capra, Guglielmo di Mauro, Iterio and Guglielmo della Volta. During this year Pope Calixtus held a synod in Rome in the church of St John Lateran, to which he summoned the Genoese and Pisans because of their dispute.⁵¹ There for several days the dispute between them about the consecration of bishops in Corsica was debated at length but inconclusively by cardinals, bishops and archbishops. Finally, the lord pope, observing that the cardinals and bishops were not agreed, nominated 12 archbishops and 12 bishops (whose names are inscribed in a law of Genoa), to make a just adjudication as judges of the dispute over consecration. They split off from the others and moved away to a particular part of the palace, where they stood with much disagreement among themselves about the consecration of Corsican bishops. They had read to them an old register of the Church of Rome, p. 19 and discovered from it that the Pisans held the archbishopric of Corsica illegally. With all 24 agreed that this was so, they came before the pope in the basilica of the palace in the presence of 300 bishops, abbots and archbishops. There Walter, archbishop of Ravenna, stated his opinion as follows, on the advice of the rest: 'My Lord, my Lord, we have not presumed to offer an opinion in your presence, but we will offer you advice which has the force of an opinion. My advice and that of my colleagues is as follows: that from now on the archbishop of Pisa should relinquish consecration of Corsican bishops, and hereafter should not interfere in their appointment.' When he had listened to this advice, the pope rose and said, 'Archbishops, bishops, abbots, cardinals, are you all content with this advice?' They rose and said three times, 'We are. We are. We are.' The pope replied, 'I too, on behalf of God and of St Peter, and on my own behalf, commend this advice and confirm it; and in the morning, in the plenary council, I will again commend and confirm it.' On hearing this, the Pisan archbishop, sitting among the other bishops, threw his mitre and ring at the feet of the lord pope, and said with an angry spirit, 'I will no longer be your bishop and archbishop.' At which the pope kicked the mitre and ring far away with his foot, and said, 'Brother, you have done wrong, and I shall certainly make sure you regret it.' Moreover when morning came, the pope in plenary council gave instructions that his decision on the consecration of Corsican bishops should be delivered; and Gregory, deacon of Sant'Angelo, who afterwards became Pope Innocent [II], delivered the decision, as is recorded

⁴⁹ '*pro utilitate rei publice*'.

⁵⁰ A small picture of a burning house entitled '*ignis Sancti Ambrosii*' appears in the margin of Manuscript N. Caffaro is probably referring to a fire in the Sant' Ambrogio district of Genoa, in a way which suggests it would be well known to his audience.

⁵¹ Pope Calixtus II, 1119–24. See Introduction, pp. 12–13 for a discussion of this event.

in the laws of Genoa.⁵² As soon as the decision had been pronounced, the Pisans immediately withdrew without permission from the Roman *curia*. But with the authority of the Roman *curia*, the Genoese returned in triumph and glory to Genoa. In a plenary *parlamentum* the *privilegia* and everything that had happened at the synod were reported chronologically by Caffaro, just as he had seen and heard them in the synod. He spent some time in Rome both before and after the synod in the service of his city, and handled the transactions that took place with prudence and rectitude.⁵³ **p. 20** After that they [the Genoese] bravely conducted the war against the Pisans until they obtained peace on terms that brought great advantage to the city of Genoa, as was recorded during their consulate in which peace was made. 1123.

p. 21 In the third annual consulate the consuls were Guglielmo di Bonbello, Rubaldo Vetulo, Bellamuto and Rainaldo Sardena, and they were consuls *de comuni* and *de placitis*. In this consulate seven Genoese galleys won a victory off the beach of Castagneto in the manner I shall explain, against the Pisans who were coming from Sardinia with 22 ships laden with considerable treasure and nine Pisan galleys, which were travelling alongside the cargo ships to provide protection. **p. 22** When they saw the Genoese galleys, they were terrified by their fear of the Genoese. Abandoning the cargo ships, they fled to the port of Vada; and thus the Genoese captured the Pisan ships laden with cargo to which I referred, and conducted them to Genoa.⁵⁴ Also in that year, 1124, the Genoese took the fort of Sant'Angelo by force from the Pisans and won many other victories over them.⁵⁵

In the fourth annual consulate, the consuls were Arnaldo Batigato, Ottone di Gandolfo Rufo, Caffaro and Guglielmo Pevero. They were consuls *de comuni* and *de placitis*. In their consulate the Genoese won many victories over the Pisans, some of which I propose to record forthwith. During the summer of that consulate, the Genoese with 10 galleys had so strong a hold on the seas around Corsica and Sardinia as far as Porto Pisano that they captured many Pisans, as well as ships and treasure, and led many into captivity in Genoa. Between Corsica and Sardinia these galleys came upon one ship larger than the others, crammed with a great wealth of treasure, and manned by 400 men. They seized its launch and killed many men.⁵⁶ After following and doing battle with the ship for four days, they became separated by the raging sea. The ship reached the Arno and was

⁵² Pope Calixtus' decision is recorded in *LI*, vol. 1/2, no. 281, pp. 8–12. See also Calixtus II, *Bullaire*, ed. U. Robert, 2 vols (Paris, 1891), no. 209, pp. 301–04.

⁵³ Belgrano, 'Annals', pp. 20–21, n. (1) reproduces the *MGHSS* text, vol. 18, p. 356. This furnishes a striking contrast with Caffaro's bland report. This is translated in full at pp. 103–05 below.

⁵⁴ Vada and Castagneto are on the coast of Tuscany, c. 25 and 40 miles south of Pisa.

⁵⁵ Sant'Angelo is in Corsica.

⁵⁶ 'barcam'.

shipwrecked there. When the galleys had returned to Genoa, the Pisans came out of the Arno with eight galleys, and said they were on their way to the Provenza to seize Genoese captives.⁵⁷ On hearing this, the Genoese immediately fitted out a fleet of seven galleys, in which Caffaro sailed. He was consul, and many men of the highest status were with him – I mean Ido di Carmadino and Marino di Porta, with Marchio di Caffara and many others. They pursued the Pisans' galleys past the Provenza, Sardinia, Corsica and Elba. They did not find them, but reached Piombino.⁵⁸ **p. 23** There they raised a great fight and set on fire one ship, drawn up there on land below the fort, which was very fine, and large, and loaded with great riches. They laid fires and captured the fort and the town in battle, and they took away men, women and boys, and treasure from that fort in their galleys to Genoa. All this took place in mid-September. Later in the same consulate a single Pisan galley which had gone to the Provenza, that is to Aquila,⁵⁹ was captured by Genoese galleys. And no other Pisan galley stayed in the Provenza or arrived there, before or after, throughout the war. Many other victories came the way of the Genoese during that same year. In that consulate public *compurgatores* were first in evidence, who vouch for people in writing or authenticate contracts. 1125.

In the fifth annual consulate the consuls were Ottone Gontardo, Guglielmo Porco, Bellamuto and Guglielmo Piccamiglio. They were consuls both *de comuni* and *de placitis*. That year the Genoese went on an expedition against the Pisans with galleys and *gati*. They pitched their tents and stood their standards in the ground by the Arno, and did battle against the Pisan knights and infantry. Then they proceeded to Vada, and completely destroyed it in battle. They again captured by force of arms the fort of Piombino, which had been rebuilt.⁶⁰ Then they made the crossing to Corsica, and captured in battle the fort of Sant' Angelo, which had been rebuilt by the Pisans, as well as taking 300 Pisans captive. They won many more victories over the Pisans that year. During this consulate in 1126 the ship 'Sant' Andrea' was wrecked. 1126.

In the sixth annual consulate there were six consuls *de comuni* and *de placitis*, Iterio, Marchio di Caffara, Guglielmo della Volta, Caffaro, Ottone di Mare and Rainaldo Sardena. These consuls sent 16 galleys to Corsica, which sighted and followed nine Pisan galleys which fled at high speed. **p. 24** They captured one of them, called *Alamanna*, and escorted it back to Genoa in triumph. They won many

⁵⁷ 'Provincia/Provincia', denotes roughly the area of present-day France from the Rhone to the Italian border, and cannot be equated with 'Provence'. We have used 'the Provenza' as the Italian retains the old meaning.

⁵⁸ A port on the Italian mainland, just north of the island of Elba and c.65 miles south of Pisa.

⁵⁹ Aquila cannot be identified with certainty. See Airaldi, *Annali*, p. 80, n. 25. Our suggestion is Laigueglia, a port around 45 miles west of Genoa.

⁶⁰ Presumably the fort had been destroyed the previous year.

other victories over the Pisans in that year. It was truly astonishing that throughout the war the Genoese continually captured galleys, ships, men and treasure from Pisan territory.⁶¹ Throughout the duration of the war the Pisans never entered Genoese territory unless you count that time when their one galley in the Provenza was captured by the Genoese.⁶² 1127.

In the seventh annual consulate, the consuls *de comuni* and *de placitis* were Ottone Gontardo, Guiscardo, Guglielmo Giudice di Drubecco and Guglielmo Pevere. During that consulate, Monsalto⁶³ was captured by the Genoese, who were at hand with a large army of foot-soldiers and knights. 1128.

In the eighth annual consulate the consuls I have just mentioned, namely Ottone Gontardo and his colleagues, were re-appointed, *de comuni* and *de placitis*. During that consulate the Genoese proceeded against the Pisans with 16 galleys as far as Messina [Sicily]. There the Pisans, who were on land, joined battle with the Genoese along with the townspeople of Messina. Because the townspeople were giving assistance to the Pisans, the Genoese drove the Pisans and the citizenry out of the town of Messina all the way to the king's palace. They had the town and its treasure under their control, but through respect for the king⁶⁴ and at the request of his envoys, they returned the townspeople's accumulated valuables and real estate. At Varrigatore⁶⁵ they captured in battle a Pisan ship heavily loaded with treasure, and took it to Genoa. They took proceeds of 10,000 *librae* from the ship. 1129.

In the ninth annual consulate there were three consuls *de comuni*, p. 25 Rubaldo Vetulo, Guglielmo della Volta and Bellamuto; and 14 *de placitis*, Guglielmo Piccamiglio, Zenuardo di Volpe, Guglielmo di Negro, Enrico Roza, Marino de Porta, Caffaro, Ottone di Gandolfo Rufo, Ogerio de Mari, Ansaldo Crispino, Dondidio di Iterio, Buonvassallo di Oddone, Guglielmo di Bonbello, Ogerio Capra and Albertone di Ansaldo Ite. In respect of the foregoing consuls *de placitis*, two heard cases in one *compagnia*, and two in another, and so through the other *compagnie*: thus Guglielmo Piccamiglio and Zenuardo heard pleas in the *compagnia* of Borgo, and Guglielmo di Nigro and Enrico Roza in Soziglia. Likewise in the third *compagnia*, that is di Porta, Caffaro and Marino de Porta; in the fourth, of San Lorenzo, Ottone di Gandolfo Rufo and Ogerio de Mari; the fifth, of Maccagnana, Dondidio di Iterio and Ansaldo Crispino; the sixth, that is Piazzalunga, Buonvassallo di Oddone and Guglielmo di Bonbello; and in the seventh *compagnia*, that of Palazzolo, the consuls *de placitis* were Ogerio Capra and Albertone di Ansaldo Ite. They heard cases in the following way. If someone

⁶¹ Caffaro uses '*magnum ...ac mirabile*', but there is no sense that he regards this circumstance as miraculous.

⁶² See p. 62 above.

⁶³ In Lazio, central Italy.

⁶⁴ King Roger II of Sicily (1130–54).

⁶⁵ An unknown location.

from one *compagnia* was making a complaint against someone from one of the others, it fell to the consuls for the *compagnia* of the plaintiff to adjudicate. At that time in Genoa there were only seven *compagnie*.

During that consulate the Genoese went to San Remo and built a tower there.⁶⁶ They administered an oath of perpetual loyalty to San Siro and the Genoese people to the men of this place, as well as [the citizens] of Baiardo and Menton, and to the count of Ventimiglia whom they had taken to Genoa because he was resisting the Genoese. In the same consulate Bishop Siro was chosen as bishop of Genoa, in the presence of Pope Innocent [II], who was in Genoa at the time. That year too, by the same pope, Siro was consecrated in Saint-Gilles. **p. 26** At that time Pope Innocent effected a truce between the Genoese and Pisans with many oaths undertaken on both sides, until the pope should return from France. The church of Portovenere was consecrated by the same pope. 1130.

In the tenth annual consulate the consuls *de comuni* and *de placitis* were Guglielmo di Mauro, Ottone Gontardo, Oberto Usodimare and Guglielmo Pevere. 1131.

In the eleventh annual consulate, the consuls *de comuni* and *de placitis* were Buonvassallo di Oddone, Ogerio di Guido, Guglielmo della Volta, Ottone di Gandolfo Rufo and Guglielmo Piccamiglio. In this consulate the Genoese equipped 16 galleys, which pursued Pisan galleys in Corsican and Sardinian waters and captured one Pisan galley at Cagliari. They also constructed a fort at Rivarolo.⁶⁷ This year the people of Lavagna began hostilities against the Genoese. The consuls took an army to Lavagna, and fought skirmishes there and inflicted considerable damage. 1132.⁶⁸

In the twelfth annual consulate there were three consuls *de comuni*, Oberto Torre, Lanfranco Vetulo and Ottone Cannella; and three consuls *de placitis*, Guglielmo Buferio, Buonvassallo di Tetuica and Oberto di Caschifellone. In this consulate peace was concluded between the Pisans and Genoese at Corneto.⁶⁹ And there Siro, bishop of Genoa, assumed the status of an archbishop, with the *pallium* and

⁶⁶ San Remo lies on the coast c. 90 miles west of Genoa.

⁶⁷ Around 20 miles north of Turin.

⁶⁸ Lavagna is a port that is c. 25 miles east of Genoa. On these conflicts see Epstein, pp. 42–44.

⁶⁹ Here the manuscripts are wrong. The pope was in fact at Grosseto on 20 March 1133. See 'Annals', Belgrano vol. 11, p. 26, n. 1. As part of the efforts to mediate with the Pisans, Bernard of Clairvaux visited Genoa in 1133. The following year he wrote a letter to the Genoese praising them for making peace with their rivals and also warning them against joining with Roger of Sicily. In fact, the abbot encouraged the Ligurians to fight someone whom he characterised as an enemy of the Church, and thereby gain booty with honour. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, eds J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome, 1955–77),

cross, at the hands of the Lord Pope Innocent.⁷⁰ **p. 27** Still in the same consulate, the Genoese proceeded to Rome with eight galleys, in the service of the Lord King Lothar⁷¹ and of Pope Innocent [II]. They captured many towers and engaged in numerous skirmishes, until the Romans agreed to pay taxes to the king and pope.⁷² Also this year the Genoese destroyed the forts of the people of Lavagna, and made peace with them on the basis that they accepted the consuls' fiscal jurisdiction and agreed to accept their authority in perpetuity. 1133.

In the thirteenth annual consulate, there were three consuls *de comuni*, Ansaldo Mallone, Ansaldo Doria and Fabiano, and eight *de placitis*: Boemondo and Ingo della Volta heard cases in two *compagnie*, Palazzolo and Piazzalunga; Elia and Ingo Galleta in two more *compagnie*, Maccagnana and San Lorenzo; Rainaldo Gozone and Guglielmo Lusio in another two, Porta and Soziglia; and Ansaldo Sardena and Rubaldo Visconte in the remaining two, Portanuova and Borgo. At that time in the city of Genoa an eighth *compagnia* was added to the existing seven.⁷³ 1134.

In the fourteenth annual consulate, there were three consuls *de comuni*, Buonvassallo di Tetuica, Ido Gontardo and Ottone Cannella; and six *de placitis*, of whom three heard cases in four *compagnie* and the other three in the other four *compagnie*, that is Palazzolo, Piazzalunga, Maccagnana and San Lorenzo. **p. 28** In these four *compagnie*, Buonvassallo di Bonomo, Gionata Pedegola and Marchio Guaraco heard cases. In the other four, that is Porta, Soziglia, Portanuova and Borgo, cases were heard by Oberto di Caschifellone, Giordano di Porta and Buonvassallo di Antiochia.⁷⁴ 1135

In the fifteenth annual consulate, the consuls *de comuni* were Ansaldo Mallone, Ido Porcello and Lanfranco Pevere. The consuls *de placitis* were Tanclerio di Mauro, Guglielmo Garrio, Guglielmo Negro, Lanfranco di Ogerio di Rodolfo,

vol. 7, pp. 322–24; translated as *The Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux*, second edition, trans. B.S. James with a new introduction by B.M. Kienzle (Stroud, 1998), pp. 200–201.

⁷⁰ The *pallium* is an ecclesiastical vestment, a narrow band worn around the neck, symbolic of office conferred by the pope. Innocent II's bull installing Siro is at Innocent II, '*Epistolae et privilegia*', PL 179, cols 174–76, and *I Libri Iurium*, vol. 1/2, pp. 12–16, no. 282. See also P. Fabre, L. Duchesne and G. Mollat eds, *Le Liber Censuum de l'Eglise romaine*, 3 vols (Paris, 1910–52), vol. 1 (1910), pp. 73–74, n. 2, placing the archbishopric in its political context.

⁷¹ Lothar III, king of Germany (1125–37) and Holy Roman Emperor (1133–37).

⁷² '*posuerunt se in mercedem regis et pape*'. Compare the next sentence, '*in mercedem consulum se posuerunt*'.

⁷³ Portanuova.

⁷⁴ An interesting name, suggesting that this individual had strong connections with the principality of Antioch.

Ingo Clerico and Rubaldo Visconte. Three of them heard cases in four *compagnie*, and the other three in the other four. In this consulate 12 galleys sailed to Bugia [in North Africa] and captured a large and valuable ship and many Saracens, Bolpheto, brother of Matarasso, and many others, whom they took to Genoa.⁷⁵ Each galley received 700 *librae* worth from the ship's treasure. 1136.

In the sixteenth annual consulate, the consuls *de comuni* were Boemondo di Oddone, Guglielmo Burone, Enrico Guercio and Guglielmo Lusio, and four of the consuls *de placitis*, Elia, Guglielmo Barca, Fabiano, and Guglielmo Brussedo, heard cases in four of the *compagnie*. **p. 29** Guglielmo Pezolo, Rainaldo Gozone, Buonvicino di Campo and Vassallo di Guisulfo heard cases in the other four *compagnie*. In this consulate 22 galleys went to the North African coast in pursuit of 40 Saracen galleys of the *qadi* Mohammed-ibn-Meimûn of Almería.⁷⁶ They failed to find them, but captured many Saracen ships with much treasure, and returned victorious to Genoa. 1137.

In the seventeenth annual consulate, there were four consuls *de comuni*, Ansaldo Mallone, Buonvassallo di Oddone, Bellamuto and Lanfranco Pevere, and four *de placitis*, Filippo di Lamberto, Guglielmo Negro, Ansaldo Crispino and Oberto Usodimare.⁷⁷ 1138

In the eighteenth annual consulate there were four consuls *de comuni*, Guglielmo di Bonbello, Ogerio di Guido, Guglielmo della Volta and Guglielmo Pevere, and four *de placitis*, Elia, Ingo della Volta, Boemondo and Guglielmo Rufo. In this consulate the *bruniti* coinage ended, and the right to mint coins was granted to the city of Genoa by Conrad [III], the German king.⁷⁸ The king's chancellor brought to Genoa the legal instruments to that effect signed with a gold seal, and handed them to the consuls.⁷⁹ 1139.

p. 30 In the nineteenth annual consulate there were four consuls *de comuni*, Oberto Torre, Guglielmo Barca, Guiscardo and Guglielmo Malocello, and four *de placitis*, Buonvassallo di Oddone, Guglielmo Negro, Ansaldo Doria and Bellamuto. During

⁷⁵ See Caffaro, 'Annals', p. 28, n. 1, reproduced also by Airal di, *Annali*, p. 86. Bugia is the present-day Bejaia in Algeria. For other contact with this city see also pp. 91, n. 188.

⁷⁶ See Caffaro, 'Annals', p. 29, n. 1, and Airal di, *Annali*, p. 87, n. 1 identifying him as the admiral of the Almohad caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min, and on the translation of '*in Garbum*' as 'to the North African coast' see also p. 91, n. 188.

⁷⁷ Genoa signed protection treaties with various towns and cities in the Provenza during 1138, see **Document 4** below.

⁷⁸ Conrad III, king of Germany, (1138–52).

⁷⁹ For Conrad's grant of this privilege see *LI*, vol. 1/ 2, pp. 16–18, no. 283, dated November 1138; it would not have reached Genoa until 1139.

this consulate Guglielmo di Colomba began his duties as secretary.⁸⁰ Also in this consulate the Genoese proceeded to the city of Ventimiglia by land and sea with a large army of knights and infantry. To the honour of God and of the city of Genoa they captured in battle the city and forts of the whole of the count's territories, and imposed an oath of perpetual loyalty on all the men of the city and the county. Still during the same consulate two galleys from Gaeta had arrived in the Provenza to harry the Genoese.⁸¹ Thereupon two Genoese galleys were fitted out and pursued them, finding them around Argentario.⁸² They captured one in battle and brought it to Genoa with its crew and all the booty they had acquired. 1140.

In the twentieth annual consulate there were four consuls *de comuni*, Filippo di Lamberto, Guglielmo della Volta, Caffaro and Lanfranco Pevere, and four *de placitis*, Martino di Mauro, Marino di Porta, Guglielmo Lusio and Elia. These consuls *de comuni* bought the fort of Aimerio and gave it to Struzio and his brothers and cousins as a fief, and accepted from them a pledge of loyalty in perpetuity.⁸³ Also in this consulate, Oberto entered into the office of Chancellor.⁸⁴

p. 31 In the same consulate there was a second fire in the city, on the Eve of St James.⁸⁵ 1141

In the twenty-first annual consulate, the consuls *de comuni* were Ansaldo Mallone, Buonvassallo di Tetuica, Ogerio di Guido and Bellamuto, and the four consuls *de placitis* were Ottone Giudice, Ogerio de Mari, Guglielmo Pezolo and Ceba. These consuls sent a galley and two ambassadors, Oberto Torre and Guglielmo Barca, to the Emperor John II Komnenos who was in the area of Antioch with a large army, and died there, leaving the empire to his son Manuel.⁸⁶ 1142.

In the twenty-second annual consulate the four consuls *de comuni* were Buonsignore Mallone, Guglielmo Porco, Guglielmo della Volta and Lanfranco Pevere, and the four consuls *de placitis* were Ugo Giudice, Buonvasallo di Oddone, Ogerio Vento and Guglielmo Lusio. In this consulate [the right to] one-third [of their

⁸⁰ 'scribanus'.

⁸¹ Gaeta is a port around 90 miles south of Rome.

⁸² Monte Argentario, a promontory north of Rome.

⁸³ Aimerio is in Piedmont. See *LI*, vol. 1/1, pp. 81–86, nos 48–50, for the documents enacting this grant and oath.

⁸⁴ For Oberto Cancelliere, Caffaro's successor as author of the 'Annals', see Introduction, p. 3.

⁸⁵ 24 July, the day before the feast of St James of Compostella. The first fire took place in Sant' Ambrogio in 1122 (see p. 60 above).

⁸⁶ The manuscripts have 'imperatorem Calo iannem'. Emperor John died on 8 April 1143 in Cilicia. For a succinct account of the Byzantine engagement in Antioch at this time see J. Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2003), pp. 80–87.

deceased husband's] assets was taken away [by law] from [married] women.⁸⁷ In the same consulate four Genoese galleys captured Montpellier, and handed it back to William of Montpellier.⁸⁸ They returned to the men on the galleys 1,000 silver marks which William himself had taken from the Genoese. **p. 32** Additionally William gave to the Genoese the trading establishment of Bruno of Toulouse,⁸⁹ and exempted them from all customs duties⁹⁰ throughout his territory. When those galleys were on their way back, they came upon a pirate galley and captured it on the spot. 1143.

In the twenty-third one-year consulate the four consuls *de comuni* were Tanclerio di Mauro, Filippo di Lamberto, Guglielmo Vento and Bellamuto, and the four consuls *de placitis* were Elia, Guglielmo Giudice di Novara, Caffaro and Oberto Spinola. In this consulate a Genoese galley set off to deal with acts of piracy against the Genoese by the count of Melgueil, brother of the count of Barcelona; and when the count of Melgueil initiated hostilities against the galley, he was killed by one of its crossbowmen.⁹¹ The consuls I have already named sent instructions to the Provenza, and secured the capture of a *sagittea* from the pirates who were preying on the Genoese, and had the pirates' eyes put out. During the papacy of Lucius [II], these consuls sent ambassadors to the pope.⁹² They made many requests, but finally secured that the Lord Pope Lucius relieved the Genoese of the one *libra* of gold which they were obliged to pay annually to the Roman *curia*.⁹³ **p. 33** He also

⁸⁷ See Airal di, *Annali*, p. 89, n. 38 and *LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 64, pp. 105–106. This removed the widow's automatic right to one third of her ex-husband's estate. For the handling of disputes arising from this law, see *CD*, vol. 1, no. 128, p. 162 (the so-called 'Consuls' Brief'). See n. 108 below.

⁸⁸ William VI, lord of Montpellier 1121–49, had been expelled by the inhabitants in 1141, and was restored in 1143 with Genoese and Pisan help. See *LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 28, pp. 42–43; no. 68, pp. 113–14. His father, William V, had been on the First Crusade and had joined the count of Barcelona and the Pisans in the attack on the Balearic islands, 1113–15. His son was later a notable figure in the capture of Tortosa in 1148. See Lewis, 'The Guillems of Montpellier', pp. 159–70.

⁸⁹ '*fundicum Bruni de Tolosia*'.

⁹⁰ '*vectigalia*'.

⁹¹ The county of Melgueil was a papal lordship on the coast of Languedoc near Montpellier. Count Berenguer Ramon, count of Provence and brother of Ramon Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona (1131–62), was also count of Melgueil by marriage (1135–44).

⁹² Pope Lucius II (1144–45).

⁹³ See *Le 'Liber Censuum'*, vol. 1, p. 75 and n. 2. This record of revenues due to the papal treasury refers to one *libra* of gold payable annually by the Genoese '*pro dimidia Corsica*'/ 'in exchange for half of Corsica', granted by 'Papa Innocentius', shown in the note to be Innocent II. Fabre and Duchesne argue persuasively that the Genoese half corresponded to the three southern dioceses of Corsica, subordinate to the archdiocese of Genoa created by Innocent in 1133. Remission of the annual tribute reflects the reality of

granted concessions to the Genoese, and confirmed all the legal rights which the Genoese were or should be exercising in the Syrian region.⁹⁴ 1144

In the twenty-fourth annual consulate the four consuls *de comuni* were Ido Gontardo, Ogerio di Guido, Guiscardo and Guglielmo Lusio, and the four consuls *de placitis* were Ottone Giudice, Rodoano, Guglielmo Buferio and Ceba. 1145. In this consulate the fort of Sestri was constructed.⁹⁵

In the twenty-fifth annual consulate, the four consuls *de comuni* were Ansaldo Mallone, Guglielmo Negro, Caffaro and Lanfranco Pevere, and the four consuls *de placitis* were Boemondo, Marino di Porta, Sigismundo Moscola and Rinaldo Gobbo. In this consulate the consuls I have named sent 22 galleys and six other ships⁹⁶ against the Saracens, to Minorca and other places as far as Almería, with a good supply of siege engines made out of timber to attack the fortifications⁹⁷ and 100 knights with their horses. As consul, Caffaro was the commander of these galleys along with Oberto Torre, whom he chose as his colleague for this expedition.⁹⁸ When they got to Minorca, they disembarked with horses and knights and with the foot-soldiers. **p. 34** Wearing breastplates and helmets and carrying other arms, they left the galleys with a few men in the harbour of Fornells, and carrying many standards, knights and foot-soldiers ranged throughout the island capturing Saracens and their treasure. They pillaged settlements for four days, then returned to their galleys. While they were resting in their tents there, lo and behold, some 300 Saracen horsemen approached the tents by stealth in an armed band, accompanied by a large force of infantry. The Genoese immediately mounted their horses and joined battle with the Saracens. The Saracens turned tail and instantly fled. The Genoese chased them for eight miles, and killed two-thirds of the Saracen knights and foot-soldiers, leaving them dead in the fields. Then they arrived at the main city of this island, captured and destroyed it, and stowed its treasure in the galleys. Then all these galleys went to Almería. They found many ships loaded with great riches in Almería harbour, and removed the treasure from them and loaded it into their galleys. They landed and pitched their tents near

Genoese power in Corsica. Fabre and Duchesne note that Honorius III reinstated the tribute in 1217 as part of the settlement between Genoa and Pisa.

⁹⁴ These documents do not survive.

⁹⁵ On the marches with Lavagna. See *LI*, vol. 1/1, nos 77–79, pp. 127–32.

⁹⁶ 'golabios'.

⁹⁷ 'cum multis machinis lignaminis de castellis', Airal di translates this as 'con molte machine da guerra e legnami per le torri da assedio'.

⁹⁸ This campaign was an important preliminary to the subsequent expeditions to Almería and Tortosa described separately by Caffaro, in *Ystoria captionis Almerie et Turtuose*, translated at pp. 127–35 below. See also Introduction, pp. 36–40; Williams, 'The Making of a Crusade', pp. 31–33.

the city, and constructed battering rams, siege-engines and petraries.⁹⁹ Meanwhile the Saracens were terrified, and sought peace and a truce from the Genoese.¹⁰⁰ In exchange for peace, if the Genoese acceded, they promised the equivalent of 113,000 *marabotini*. Caffaro and Oberto Torre gave them the following reply on behalf of the rest of the Genoese: 'We will not make peace but we will grant a truce until our departure for Genoa, on condition that you give us here and now the *marabotini* to which you referred.' The Saracens were agitated with fear and immediately said: 'Take 25,000 now, and against the rest we will hand over to you eight hostages including the emir.'¹⁰¹ We will pay the balance within eight days. That night they paid the 25,000 *marabotini*.¹⁰² While the *marabotini* were being counted in the night, and the captains of the galleys stood over the *marabotini* dividing them up, the king of Almería slipped away under cover of night with two galleys and a huge amount of money. **p. 35** Next morning the Saracens chose someone else as king, who immediately sent the promised hostages to the galleys, and undertook to pay the amount of money mentioned before. But because he had not paid the money at the end of eight days, the Genoese were incensed and disembarked again. They made frequent attacks on the city with mangonels and battering rams, and spent 22 days in tents on the land where the galleys were moored. Finally with winter approaching they set sail, and returned in triumph to Genoa, with a great deal of captured treasure. 1146

In the twenty-seventh annual consulate, the six consuls *de comuni* were Filippo di Lamberto, Oberto Torre, Ogerio di Guido, Baldovino, Ansaldo Doria and Guglielmo Piccamiglio; and the four consuls *de placitis* were Ugo Giudice, Ingo della Volta, Oberto Cancelliere and Ansaldo Pizo. While these men were consuls, the Genoese went to Almería with a large fleet of galleys and many other ships. They captured Almería in battle and defeated and killed the Saracens, as is written in the books and chronicles of the Genoese written down by learned men who were witnesses to and participants in these events.¹⁰³ Although we cannot record all of this, let us nevertheless write down a small part straight away. 1147.

In the twenty-eighth annual consulate the six consuls *de comuni* were Guglielmo Burone, Ansaldo Mallone, Ogerio Vento, Giordano di Porta, Enrico Guercio and Lanfranco Peveri; and the four consuls *de placitis* were Guglielmo Negro, **p. 36** Fredenzone Gontardo, Marino di Porta and Opizzo Lecavelo. Tortosa was

⁹⁹ Caffaro uses the unusual word '*predeiras*' – of obviously Spanish origin, for the more usual '*petrarias*'.

¹⁰⁰ A contemporary example of the process of negotiation prior to the start of a siege can also be seen at Lisbon. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 114–25.

¹⁰¹ '*cum elemino*'.

¹⁰² For *marabotini* see Introduction, p. 48, n. 74.

¹⁰³ See Introduction, p. 36; Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 251–61.

captured during this consulate. 1148.¹⁰⁴ And in this consulate the fort of Parodi was acquired at a price of 700 *lire*.¹⁰⁵

In the twenty-ninth annual consulate the six consuls *de comuni* were Guglielmo Vento, Guglielmo Pelle, Guglielmo Negro, Caffaro, Oberto Spinola and Rubaldo Bisaccia; and the four consuls *de placitis* were Guglielmo Buferio, Guglielmo Stancone, Oberto Cancelliere and Sigismundo Moscola. 1149.¹⁰⁶

In the thirtieth annual consulate the four consuls *de comuni* were Ansaldo Mallone, Rodoano, Guglielmo Lusio and Lanfranco Pevero. The four consuls *de placitis* were Boemondo, Fredenzone Gontardo, Anselmo di Caffara and Ansaldo Spinola. 1150

In the thirty-first annual consulate the four consuls *de comuni* were Guglielmo di Bonbello, Guglielmo Stralando, Ottone Rufo and Boterico; and the four consuls *de placitis* were **p. 37** Ugo di Elia, Ottone Bencerto, Oberto Cancelliere and Guglielmo di Negro. 1151

In the thirty-second annual consulate the four consuls *de comuni* were Tanclerio di Piazzalunga, Rubaldo di Alberico, Rubaldo Bisaccia and Ansaldo Spinola; and the four consuls *de placitis* were Guglielmo Buferio, Guglielmo Stancone, Guglielmo Cicala and Corrado Rufo. 1152. In this consulate the slaughterhouses were moved from the city, one site to Molo and the other to Soziglia.¹⁰⁷

In the thirty-third annual consulate, the consuls *de comuni* were Martino di Mauro, Guglielmo Negro, Enrico Guercio and Guglielmo Lusio; and the four consuls *de placitis* were Oberto Cancelliere, Giovanni Malocello, Ido Gontardo the younger and Guglielmo di Ripa Giudice. 1153.

In the thirty-fourth annual consulate the four consuls *de comuni* were Ogerio di Guido, Ansaldo Doria, Oberto Spinola and Lanfranco Pevero; and the four consuls *de placitis* were Ottone Giudice, Fredenzone Gontardo, Gionata Crispino and Baldizone Usodimare. However, when they were elected, these consuls refused to swear the consular oath straight away, because they could see that the city was asleep and suffering from sloth, and like a ship without a helmsman drifting around the ocean.¹⁰⁸ But because they were urged by the archbishop with the promise of remission of their sins, and because they were pressed by the people,

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 261–64.

¹⁰⁵ Now Parodi Ligure, inland from Genoa. See *LI*, vol. 1/1, nos 108–110, pp. 168–70.

¹⁰⁶ Caffaro omits the Genoese embassy and commercial treaty with the emir of Valencia during this year. The treaty is translated at **Document 9**.

¹⁰⁷ On the relocation of the slaughterhouses, see *LI*, vol. 1/1, nos 157–58, pp. 230–32.

¹⁰⁸ The incoming consuls customarily swore an oath committing them to a detailed code of conduct. On account of its disproportionate length we omitted it from this volume

they finally took the consular oath in the interests of the city. **p. 38** Once they had taken the oath, they immediately gave major consideration as to how they could drag the city out of its torpor, and soon after the start of their consulate they began programmes to build galleys¹⁰⁹ to defend the city, since Genoa lacked them completely, and to repay more than 15,000 *librae* to the city's creditors. At this the citizens who had fallen asleep awoke somewhat from their slumber and said they would obey the consuls' instructions in all matters. Caffaro, who compiled this book and recounted the record of past consuls, was unwilling through his own delay to leave their good start to be recorded from the recollection of people in the future. He spent time on his prayers, and prayed every day to God that this good beginning should reach a [successful] conclusion. When the consuls listed above reached the end of their consulate, they had paid back to the creditors the whole of the 15,000 *librae* which they had begun to pay back at the outset.¹¹⁰ They maintained peace among the citizens and bequeathed in writing to future consuls many plans which they had devised for the benefit of the city, which they could not execute through shortage of time and the constraint of having to pay back the money. But because there is great value in having information about past events, both for understanding the present and forecasting the future, and because both auspicious and inauspicious events took place through the vagaries of fate during this consulate, Caffaro decided to tell the truth, as far as he knew it, to contemporaries and men in the future.

For at the time of these consuls, Frederick, king of the Romans, and emperor in perpetuity,¹¹¹ came to Lombardy, and there accepted the allegiance of all the men in every city and locality and the right of jurisdiction over them.¹¹² He did many other things, which it would take too long to recount. The consuls sent ambassadors at the highest level, **p. 39** Ugo, that is to say the archdeacon, and Caffaro, the author of this book, to the king. He received them with distinction, and revealed to the ambassadors many secret policies regarding the mutual benefit of the empire and

but hope to publish a translation elsewhere. For the Latin text see CD, vol. 1, no. 128, pp. 153–66; see also Epstein, pp. 34–38.

¹⁰⁹ See Airaldi, *Annali*, p. 95, n. 47. She refers to but rejects Paglieri's ingenious suggestion, '*taleas*'/ 'taxes' for '*galeas*'/'galleys'. Taking full account of the context, we prefer to stay with the MSS, and agree with Airaldi.

¹¹⁰ See *LI*, vol. 1/1, nos 169–79, pp. 244–57, for documents concerning repayment of debt to creditors from Piacenza.

¹¹¹ '*semper augustus*', a formulaic usage.

¹¹² This is Frederick I (Barbarossa), king of Germany from 1152 and crowned emperor in 1155; he died during the Third Crusade in 1190. The events here took place during the first of his six visits to northern Italy as he tried to enforce his authority in the region. See the substantial treatment in: F. Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa: A Study in Medieval Politics* (London, 1969), with pp. 70–91 covering this first visit to Italy. For the papal-imperial relationship at this time see also; Robinson, *Papacy*, pp. 460–507.

the city of Genoa. He promised to accord prestige to the city of Genoa above all the other cities of Italy. And on that basis he granted to the ambassadors in a most dignified fashion the right to return home without delay, as they deserved. The consuls explained one by one to the consuls elected to succeed them all these confidential plans which the ambassadors had brought back from the king, and left everything to be dealt with as they decided.¹¹³

Still in the consulate I have referred to, as Christmas Day was coming to an end and night was coming, it happened by chance that a fire broke out in a house in the suburb of the city, and spread like an inferno to adjoining houses. Without hesitation the citizens who were inside the city, who were the most fierce of warriors and powerful defenders against all hazards, rushed to the fire, and put it out by demolishing the houses and throwing on water, so that after a small area of the suburb had been burnt, all the other houses of the suburb and of the city remained unharmed. In the meantime the citizens put in a safe place all the property from the small area which had been gutted, except for buildings and household effects which had been burned.

Furthermore, around that same time that year, a barbarian people, who were called the Mussemuti, made peace with the Genoese.¹¹⁴ Eight of their galleys went to Sardinia, where they came upon a Genoese ship on its way from Alexandria loaded with considerable treasure.¹¹⁵ When they came alongside the ship, the crews of the galleys enquired as to its provenance. The Genoese on the ship were annoyed, and unwilling to respond by identifying themselves. But they armed themselves with breastplates and swords and with the utmost boldness climbed on board the galleys, and were virtually all killed as they slashed and slaughtered the Saracens in response to their arrogance. **p. 40** When the Mussemuti realised that they were Genoese, they were immediately overcome with remorse at what they had done. Through fear of the Genoese they released the ship unharmed with all the treasure they had seized, literally taking not a penny's worth from the ship. They sent the ship to a judge in Cagliari, with instructions to send it to Genoa, and out of his liking for the Genoese he provisioned the ship and sent it to Genoa.¹¹⁶ We must

¹¹³ For this episode see Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 72–73.

¹¹⁴ It is not clear who the Mussemuti were. See Airaldi, *Annali*, p. 98, n. 54. G. Pellegrini, *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine con speciale riguardo all' Italia*, 2 vols (Brescia, 1972), vol. 1, p. 108, suggests a link with an Almohad coin, 'massamutino'. Abulafia, *Two Italies*, p. 155, cites a notarial contract of 1180 covering trade 'in terra Mussemuti', which he identifies with the Almohad Maghreb.

¹¹⁵ On Genoese trade with Egypt see D. Jacoby, 'Les Italiens en Égypte aux xii^{me} et xiii^{me} siècles: du comptoir à la colonie?', in *Coloniser au moyen âge*, eds M. Balard and A. Ducellier (Paris, 1995), pp. 76–78.

¹¹⁶ 'cum suis expensis', literally 'with its/his victualling'; i.e. this may imply that he did this at his own expense.

believe that when such things occur in a city God touches His faithful and sets them straight, since He wants those who believe in Him to hold back from wrongdoing, and to recognise the consequences as having occurred to correct their ways.

The actions taken by the marquis of Loreto [Savona] during that same year with regard to the town of Noli should not be consigned to oblivion. So let men living now and in the future know that Enrico, marquis of Loreto, had sworn that he had the right of domicile in the city of Genoa, was pledged to the *compagnia*, and would support the decision of the Genoese consuls in respect of the dispute in Noli.¹¹⁷ The consuls, having heard both sides of the dispute, imposed a settlement on them. Afterwards however, following the custom of [these] counts who usually prefer pillaging to living in a law-abiding way, he again stirred up the dispute. At which the consuls sent ambassadors summoning the count, on the basis that he had sworn to accept their decision on the dispute. He however was promising with his lips what he did not mean in his heart. So one day in the month of August he arrived unannounced at the town I have mentioned with an army of knights and foot-soldiers, and captured it by trickery with the help of a few traitors. This is why the consuls conducted a campaign throughout their consulate, with many knights, crossbowmen and archers, as was entirely appropriate, destroying and burning his property throughout the territory. **p. 41** Since it was winter, they could not go by sea to seize the fort. 1154.

In the thirty-fifth annual consulate, the four consuls *de comuni* were Guglielmo Porco, Oberto Cancelliere, Giovanni Malocello and Guglielmo Lusio; of the six consuls *de placitis*, three heard cases in the four *compagnie* towards Palazzolo, in one of the archbishop's palaces. Their names were Buonvassallo di Lamberto Medico, Boemondo di Oddone and Guglielmo Stancone. The other three, namely Guglielmo Cicala, Nicola Roza and Oberto Recalcato, heard cases in the other four *compagnie* towards the Borgo, in another of the archbishop's palaces. Caffaro of good memory decided to bring to the attention of men in the future the events during their period of office which took place in the city of Genoa and in various other places besides.¹¹⁸

Let it be known therefore to contemporaries and to men of the future that the consuls I have named managed Genoese interests¹¹⁹ in a way which greatly added to its wealth, as was right and proper. For they redeemed from pledge all the public

¹¹⁷ The dispute between the townspeople and the marquis had been rumbling along for several years; see *LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 112, pp. 172–73, nos 147–48, pp. 216–18.

¹¹⁸ The use of '*bone memorie*' in respect of Caffaro would normally indicate that he was dead; see Airaldi, *Annali*, p. 100, n. 56, and Introduction, p. 4.

¹¹⁹ '*Res publica*', See Airaldi, *Annali*, p. 100, n. 57, who explains the difficulty of translating this phrase. It clearly does not have the full force of 'republic', and the main thrust usually relates to the wealth and economic interest of the commune of Genoa; in

assets which had been provided as security, that is to say forts, wharves, weighing scales, measures large and small, monetary mints, and the tax revenues from all the other communes that had been pledged.¹²⁰ Additionally they began to build a wall and gates on both sides of the city. To the benefit of the city, they established peace not only within the city but also in many places outside Genoa. The counts of Loreto [marquis of Savona] who had recently been conducting hostilities against the Genoese over the town of Noli, swore to abide by the rulings of the present and future consuls in respect of the fort and all other matters.¹²¹ They likewise concluded peace with the ambassador of the Byzantine emperor **p. 42** to the effect that thereafter the commune of Genoa would annually and in perpetuity receive 500 *hyperperi* and two *pallia* from the imperial treasury; additionally the archbishop was to receive 60 *hyperperi* and one *pallium*; the commune would also be given a street, a trading station and a church in Constantinople, and throughout the emperor's territory a rebate of customs duties of between 10 and 4 per cent.¹²²

Frederick king of the Romans and emperor in perpetuity came again to Lombardy in this consulate, as he did during the previous one, and after nine weeks' siege and fighting he captured and destroyed Tortona in the middle of April.¹²³ As a consequence people from other cities and towns were distraught with fear and paid a huge amount of money in tribute to the king. Although they were repeatedly urged and pressured to pay money to the king, the consuls of Genoa were unwilling to pay or to promise as much as one penny's worth. They sent much weaponry and soldiers in ample numbers to all the forts outside the city which belonged to the commune, and instructed under oath all the men in territory under their jurisdiction to mobilise rapidly their weapons and everything necessary for war. What the consuls commanded everyone did without delay. The king however,

practice this reflects the interests of the leading, wealthier families. See also Introduction, p. 44.

¹²⁰ '*Scariorum*' is obscure, and cannot be translated with certainty. Airal di opts for '*scali*' – 'slipways'. See *LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 179, p. 257 which contains a similar list of items for redemption, including '*scaria*'. '*Scala*' can also mean 'scales, or balance'. We have translated '*ripe*', 'river banks' or 'litoral' as 'wharves', and regarded the subsequent three items as public weights and measures facilities. G. Pellegrini, *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine*, vol. 1, p. 354 suggests that '*cantarus*' and '*rubus*' were weights respectively of 150 and 25 pounds. The redemption from pledge that Caffaro mentions is a reference to the restoration of the city's finances after the serious troubles following the 1148 campaign at Tortosa, Spain. See Introduction, pp. 18–19, 39–40.

¹²¹ See *LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 180, pp. 258–62 for the terms of the agreement with the marquis of Savona.

¹²² See **Document 12** below, for the treaty. The ambassador's name was Demetrios Mecropolites. For a discussion of Genoa's dealings with Byzantium, see Introduction, pp. 22–23.

¹²³ Tortona is in Piedmont, only c. 45 miles north of Genoa. Otto of Freising gives a detailed account of the siege in his *GF*, pp. 318–37, trans. pp. 132–42.

when he heard that the Genoese were so well and boldly prepared, immediately sent messengers to the consuls, to the effect that their representative should come to meet him. **p. 43** One of the consuls, Guglielmo Lusio, went to the king with some of the most respected citizens, and they dealt with many matters to the mutual benefit of the kingdom and the city. The king promised that he would accord greater respect to Genoa than to all the other cities in Italy. He gave the consuls unambiguous leave to return home without let or hindrance. He went on to Rome, where he received the crown in the church of St Peter [18 June 1155], with the blessing of Pope Adrian [IV], and then went back to German territory.¹²⁴

Since therefore it is patently true on sound evidence from men of high integrity, that as this written record shows a contribution was made towards the enrichment of the city of Genoa, it is appropriate that the truth be known about anything which was done during this consulate to benefit the city. Let all peoples know therefore that these consuls sent an ambassador to the Roman *curia*, Manfred, a canon of San Lorenzo and a wise and noble man, to seek justice for the Genoese.¹²⁵ There he sought out the patriarch of Jerusalem and more or less all the eastern archbishops and bishops, and Raymond, master of the Hospital.¹²⁶ This ambassador made a declaration to the Lord Pope along the following lines, as the consuls had instructed him, in the presence of the senior eastern clergy, who were at that time at the Roman *curia* in Benevento:¹²⁷ ‘Most reverend father

¹²⁴ Adrian was pope between 1154 and 1159 and stands distinct as the only English pope, formerly Nicholas Brakespear. See *Adrian IV: The English Pope (1154–1159): Studies and Texts*, eds B. Bolton and A.J. Duggan (Aldershot, 2003). For further details of Frederick’s Italian campaign and his imperial coronation, see Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 72–87. Caffaro did not mention Adrian’s serious troubles with renegade preacher Arnold of Brescia and the citizens of Rome, nor the riot that followed Frederick’s coronation in the city. Otto of Freising, *GF*, pp. 336–59, trans. pp. 142–53.

¹²⁵ This refers to the major dispute between Genoa and the rulers of Jerusalem, see Introduction, pp. 23–26.

¹²⁶ The patriarch of Jerusalem was Fulcher of Angoulême (1146–57), see Hamilton, Latin Church, pp. 70–75. On the master of the Hospitallers, Raymond du Puy (master 1120–c.1158/1160), see J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050–1310* (London, 1967), pp. 43–60.

¹²⁷ The Genoese took advantage of the presence in Rome of a substantial delegation of churchmen from the kingdom of Jerusalem. As well as Fulcher and Raymond were Archbishop Peter of Tyre and the bishops of Acre, Sidon, Caesarea, Lydda, Sebaste and Tiberias. The reason for their visit was a dispute between the Hospitallers and the patriarch and prelates of Jerusalem over the administration of the sacraments and rights to tithes. They met in Benevento as a consequence of an invasion of Apulia by the Byzantine emperor, Manuel Komnenos. William of Tyre reported that the papal court had been bribed by the Hospitallers and did not grant justice. See William of Tyre, 812–22, trans. vol. 2, pp. 239–51; Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John*, pp. 398–400; P.W. Edbury and J.G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 124–27.

and lord, I make my complaint to God and to you [all] on behalf of the consuls of Genoa against the king of Jerusalem, the count of Tripoli and the prince of Antioch.¹²⁸ They daily erode and reduce the jurisdiction of the Genoese which is due to them in the Eastern territories and which their predecessors granted to the Genoese and established under oath and by statutory concessions. Their predecessors did this because the Genoese captured cities and lands in the East through sieges and in battle, with many siege engines and at great expense, and with much bloodshed, as is explained to you through our written submissions now before you.¹²⁹ **p. 44** Furthermore I wish to lodge a protest regarding the vassals of the king of Jerusalem who have with their galleys unjustly stolen ships and treasure from the Genoese.¹³⁰ I also make formal complaint against certain men of the Provenza, that is to say Bernard Aton and his allies.¹³¹ Wherefore, Most Holy Father and lord, I humbly beseech your Excellency that the crozier of the Holy See strike with the punishment of *anathema* all who steal the rights of the Genoese.' Then, having listened to the grievances of the Genoese and seen their written evidence, the pope delivered his judgment in the presence of the hierarchy of the Church in the East. The nature of this judgment is written and documented in this book at the time it happened: Adrian, bishop, servant to the servants of God, [gives] greetings and the papal blessing to the illustrious king of Jerusalem. By the operation of divine grace, we are gathered together in this lofty tower of the papal palace with this purpose in mind, that we should extend the gaze of our contemplation over all parts of the world, so that we might the more assiduously correct those acts which are known to have been committed contrary to the path of justice and the principles of good order. Our beloved sons the citizens of Genoa who have recently brought this complaint to our attention, have proved that, in the absence of any reasonable justification, your vassals violently seized from them treasure and the ship in which it was being transported, and, we are told, have seen fit to detain it up to the present time. If through Your Majesty's diligence you had by prudent foresight thought how great would be the losses, inconveniences and ill repute which would fall upon your territory and upon the kingdom entrusted to you by this incident of piracy, since the glorious and renowned city of Genoa is considered most powerful in distant parts of the world, you ought, even without this warning from ourselves, to have taken steps to ensure that everything which had been taken wrongly and through piracy was returned in full to the Genoese.

¹²⁸ Count Raymond III of Tripoli (1152–87) and Prince Reynald of Antioch (1153–63).

¹²⁹ Elena Bellomo, *A servizio di Dio e del Santo Sepulcro* (Padua, 2003), p. 79 argues convincingly that *De Liberatione* (translated at pp. 107–26 below) was not in fact the document handed over in Benevento. But its tone and content suggest strongly that it was written around the time of Manfred's mission, and may well have provided source material for the written case put by the Genoese.

¹³⁰ Manfred complains of the seizure of ships in the plural, but the pope's response refers to only one ship. Adrian IV, '*Epistolae et privilegia*', *PL*, 188, cols 1440–41.

¹³¹ Bernard Aton V Trencavel, viscount of Nîmes and Agde (1130–63).

p. 45 To ensure that these Genoese have no future grounds for complaint against either you or your supporters, and in so far as you wish to continue to enjoy the blessing and grace of your mother, the Holy Roman Church, we instruct Your Majesty in written apostolic directions, to cause the treasure together with the ship to be handed back intact to the aforesaid Genoese. Furthermore, if any further complaint reaches our ears about this same matter, we shall have no choice but to take more serious punitive measures against your territory in order to seize this booty. Nevertheless, on the authority of this letter, we commit to your care that you allow the Genoese to take possession henceforward, peacefully and without interruption, of their residency in Acre and other legal rights which are known to belong to them'. Letters in the same vein were sent to the count of Tripoli and the prince of Antioch, under threat of excommunication. He also sent instructions by apostolic letter to the patriarch of Antioch to excommunicate the prince of Antioch if he failed to carry out those instructions.¹³² He wrote too to the bishops of Béziers, Agde and Nîmes, to the effect that they inflict the penalty of excommunication on Bernard Aton and people of Béziers and Agde, to make them return in full the treasure stolen from our [beloved] Genoese.¹³³ While the ambassador previously mentioned was requesting his leave from the pope, the latter handed him a ring and said: 'Let this be a permanent symbol of the love and grace of ourselves and of the apostolic see between us and the Genoese. Let this ring be a pledge to you, the ambassador who wears it, of the pope's friendship and grace.' The consuls did what I have described and many other things which are not recorded to the greater glory of the city, and they ensured that the consuls who ruled the city after them were chosen from the best. That is why they received praise and glory from the whole Genoese people. 1155

In the thirty-sixth annual consulate, the four consuls *de comuni* were Guglielmo Burone, Ogerio Vento, Enrico Doria and Lanfranco Pevero; **p. 46** and of the six consuls *de placitis*, Simone Doria, Ido Gontardo and Gionata Crispino heard cases in the archbishop's palace for the four *compagnie* towards Palazzolo, and the other three, Nicola di Rodolfo, Ugo di Baldizone and Opizzo Sardena, who were appointed to hear cases in the other four *compagnie* towards the Borgo, did so in the same palace, separately from the other three consuls.

Because current events are transparent and known to eye-witnesses, and events of the past become unknown to men in the future, it is both right and useful to record the truth of current events. This is why Caffaro of happy memory did not commit to oblivion what happened in his times in the city of Genoa and outside it in various places, as is committed to writing in this book. Therefore it is appropriate for the truth to be known through the memory of Caffaro of how the consuls of Genoa

¹³² The patriarch of Antioch was Aimery of Limoges (1140–93, an extraordinarily long period of office). See Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 38–50.

¹³³ '*nostris lanuensibus*'.

governed the state and administered justice during this year. So let those who hear this be wise enough to know that the consuls both *de comuni* and *de placitis* kept to a straight line in managing the city's interests and dispensing justice, as was proper. To all the people under their jurisdiction who sought justice, rich and poor, widows and orphans, they dispensed justice to everyone in due proportion. Additionally they sent ambassadors at the highest level, Guglielmo Vento and Ansaldo Doria, to King William [I] of Sicily in the best interests of the city, and they were received with dignity by the king.¹³⁴ Then, after they had had drawn out discussions about many matters of mutual interest to the kingdom and to the Genoese they mutually concluded a peace agreement on the following lines. The king throughout his territory would protect and guard the Genoese, and grant them justice for any wrongs. He promised on oath in the presence of his royal court and of the Genoese ambassadors that he would expel from his kingdom all merchants from the Provenza or from France, and made many other undertakings, as is recorded in the Genoese archives.¹³⁵ **p. 47** When the ambassadors had returned to Genoa, a public meeting was called, and the consuls pledged with 300 other men, that they had an obligation to prevent conspiracy aimed at the death or capture of the king, and that if they should harm people or their possessions anywhere in the king's territory, the consuls would be answerable to him. Right up to the present day the Genoese keep and have kept this promise resolutely without [the need for] an oath, not only to a king of such great power and magnificence, but to all other men who keep the peace. This is why it is repeated and believed by intelligent people far and wide throughout the world, that the Genoese have received many greater and more attractive benefits than they have given. For the king sought and took commitments on oath from many great powers and cities simply on the basis of promises on his part, and it was ordained that it was only to the Genoese that he took an oath. Hence the well-founded belief, and evidence for it, that the Genoese have received more than they have offered. 1156

In the thirty-seventh annual consulate, the four consuls *de comuni* were Rogerone di Ita, Guglielmo Vento, Oberto Spinola and Gandolfo Piccamiglio. There were eight consuls *de placitis*, of whom four heard cases for four *compagnie* of the city, that is Boemondo di Oddone, Fredenzone Gontardo, Guglielmo Stancone and Marchio della Volta. The other four, Oberto Cancelliere, Guglielmo Cicala, Amico Grillo and Vassallo di Guisulfo, heard cases for the four *compagnie* of the Borgo.

Since it is right and useful to fight honourably for one's country, it is appropriate that the truth about how the consuls *de comuni* fought during this year for their fatherland, Genoa, should be discovered by means of this record by Caffaro.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ King William I of Sicily (1154–66).

¹³⁵ See *LI*, vol. 1/2, nos 289–90, pp. 44–48, for the Sicilian undertakings as well as the discussion in the Introduction, pp. 20–22.

¹³⁶ '*bonum et utile pro sua patria honeste pugnare*'; surely a conscious echo of Horace, *Odes*, 3.2.13, '*dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*' / 'it is sweet and right to die for your country'.

p. 48 Let well-informed men understand, then, that these consuls *de comuni* achieved the following during their period of office. They kept the city of Genoa and its people in peace and harmony and began to build part of the city wall. They sent many ambassadors in various directions to the greater glory of the city – Guido di Lodi to the Roman *curia*, Gionata Crispino to the eastern regions and to King William [I] of Sicily, and Amico di Murta as ambassador to Constantinople to demand the slipways and commercial area which had been promised.¹³⁷ They accepted Guido Guerra, count of Ventimiglia, as a citizen, and he swore loyalty to our commune and gave all his ferts to the commune, as is noted in the archives. He took them as a lordship under a grant of occupation demonstrated by a red banner granted to him in the *parlamentum* by the consuls.¹³⁸

They had a new *compagnia* sworn, and organised the election of consuls *de comuni* and *de placitis* from the upper echelons of the city. On behalf of consuls present and future, Caffaro, author of this book, prayed three times a day that God would always permit them to rule the people of Genoa in peace and harmony, and to increase its wealth by good works. 1157 **p. 49**

In the thirty-eighth annual consulate, the four consuls *de comuni* were Ingo della Volta, Ido Gontardo, Baldizone Usodimare and Giovanni Malocello. And there were eight consuls *de placitis*, of whom four heard cases in four *compagnie* towards Palazzolo, namely Guglielmo Buferio, Buonvassallo di Castro, Anselmo di Caffara and Nuvelone. In the other *compagnie* towards the Borgo, the consuls were Ottone di Caffaro, Nicola di Rodolfo, Enrico Malocello and Oberto Recalcato. During their term many diverse but unheralded projects were set in hand and achieved throughout the kingdom of Italy. Among these it is appropriate that Caffaro should record to the best of his knowledge the deeds of Frederick, emperor of the Romans, in Liguria and in the coastal areas, so that they do not pass into oblivion.

Let sensible men now and in the future know that that the emperor came to Lombardy with a large army of Germans in order that those who had so far resisted imperial rule should give the Empire its due, both through the mercy of God and on account of his own arrival. To this end, mustering all the marquesses, counts and consuls of cities, and the fighting men of the whole of Lombardy and Tuscany, he pitched his tents next to the Roman arch to lay siege to Milan with

This is in the same patriotic vein as Caffaro's later direct quotation from Sallust (see n. 211, pp. 99–100 below). Such quotations were widely known and well within Caffaro's educational background. They do not of themselves suggest the influence of a more erudite scribe.

¹³⁷ For the progress of dealings with Byzantium and Sicily, see Introduction, pp. 20–23, Day, *Genoa's Response to Byzantium*; Epstein, *Genoa*, pp. 70–80.

¹³⁸ See *LI*, vol. 1/1, nos. 190–1, pp. 277–80 for the terms agreed by the count of Ventimiglia. See however pp. 83–84 below for a breach of these arrangements in 1158.

a vast army of soldiers.¹³⁹ Although the Milanese resisted the emperor for a few days, after a short time they swore that they would comply with the emperor's wishes and commands. The emperor was moved by his religious feelings, and granted forgiveness to the Milanese for their past disobedience rather than passing judgment. They committed under oath to be loyal and to give up the fiscal proceeds of sovereignty¹⁴⁰ and to hand over 9,000 silver marks and 300 hostages on the dates laid down.¹⁴¹ At this the population of the whole of Lombardy and Tuscany were terrified, and bowed to the will of the emperor like the Milanese. **p. 50** When the majority had taken this step, the emperor summoned a *parlamentum* in Roncaglia and issued many legal decisions in respect of the grievances aired in his presence, and gave instructions that the Italian cities should restore and maintain peace.¹⁴² While this was taking place the Genoese, who had been frequently harassed by correspondence and by his court officials and senior officers, sent many complaints to the emperor at his court about his noble vassals. Through these channels, he was persistently demanding that in the same fashion as the other Italian cities were declaring their loyalty to him, providing hostages and giving up their *regalia*, they too should do likewise in full measure. Although the Genoese commended such acts by others, they carefully ring-fenced themselves from such obligations, and offered evidence that they should be excused. For since early times, a concession had been granted and confirmed by the Roman emperors that the inhabitants of the city of Genoa should be wholly exempt in perpetuity from obligations to provide transport and postal services,¹⁴³ and owe only loyalty to the empire and a duty to protect his coasts against non-Christians, and could in no way be subject to other burdens. It followed that dues could not be demanded of them under any justification, since they had amply delivered their obligations, and, by the grace of God, had driven away the attacks and provocations of the Muslims¹⁴⁴ by which the whole coastline from Rome to Barcelona had been harassed on a daily basis, with the result that everyone could sleep safe from them and could rest under his own fig tree and vine – which the empire could not have achieved through an

¹³⁹ Vincent of Prague, '*Annales Vincentii Pragensis*', lists Genoa among cities providing military help to Frederick against Milan, *MGHSS*, vol. 17 p. 673. The 'Roman arch' was almost certainly the Porta Sempione, set in the old Roman wall and mentioned by Otto of Freising, *GF* pp. 486–89, trans. p. 217. For details of this campaign against Milan, see, Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 161–65; Otto of Freising, *GF*, pp. 464–503, trans. pp. 206–25.

¹⁴⁰ '*regalia*' has a range of meanings, but in essence relates to outward manifestations and benefits of sovereign power, notably revenues.

¹⁴¹ '*ad constitutos terminos*' may alternatively mean 'at fixed boundary points'.

¹⁴² For a discussion about the Constitutions of Roncaglia, see Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 166–72.

¹⁴³ '*angaria et perangaria*'.

¹⁴⁴ '*barbarorum*'.

annual outlay of 10,000 silver marks.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore they could not possibly be called upon for obligations analogous to those of the other Italians, since they had no means of deriving a livelihood or sustaining themselves in any way from the territory of the Empire; they import from elsewhere in order to sustain their lives in Genoa and be in a position to maintain the wealth of the Empire; **p. 51** and in cases where in the foreign lands where they engage in commerce they pay any amount of duties, and bargain for and buy back the title to their goods by paying a price, they owe no tribute to the Empire, as it was decided in ancient times by the emperor of the Romans that no one except Caesar should receive tribute, and it is an issue for him if it happens to be intercepted by a third party.¹⁴⁶ The inhabitants of Genoa therefore owe only loyalty, and cannot be called to account for the rest.¹⁴⁷ Meanwhile the men and women in Genoa did not cease by day or night from hauling stone and sand to the [city] wall. They constructed a greater length of wall in eight days than any other city in Italy could have built, perfectly respectably, in a full year. The remaining parts which the circuit of the wall did not embrace, and those which the height of the wall did not protect, they fortified over three days with very high fortifications, which they made from ships' masts, and with many palisades and broad, extremely robust galleries, which would have survived intact an attack from the whole of Italy and Tuscany as well as the Germans, provided God was not opposed.¹⁴⁸ The consuls and the municipal officers,¹⁴⁹ more used to being besiegers who understood the pressures on people under siege, brought so many mercenaries, crossbowmen and archers, to the city, deploying them in the forts in the mountains and in other parts of the city, that it cost the equivalent of 100 silver marks a day just to feed them. The emperor however, taking everything into account, disregarding the special pleading of the Genoese, and observing that they would not tolerate any watering-down of their long-established customary rights, invited them to Bosco¹⁵⁰ where he had arrived with his army. Ido Gontardo, consul *de comuni* at the time, and certain other experienced men went to meet him – Caffaro of course, Oberto Spinola, Guglielmo Cicala, Guido di Lodi, Ogerio di Bocherone, Ottone Giudice and Alberico. They established such a degree of agreement with him that the emperor offered his thanks and good will to the Genoese, and extended his protection and defence to them. He added that he would entertain no complaints against them, and would in no way apply pressure

¹⁴⁵ '*sub ficu et vite sua*'. This is a common biblical image of peace. See Isaiah 36.16; I Maccabees 14.12; Micah 4.4; Zachariah 3.10.

¹⁴⁶ In other words it is the emperor's responsibility to assert his right to the duties already paid by the Genoese to third parties.

¹⁴⁷ Epstein, pp. 74–75.

¹⁴⁸ A stretch of this 'Muro di Barbarossa' is still visible near the Porta Soprana in Genoa.

¹⁴⁹ '*silentiarii*', an honorific title, probably denoting senior officials or office-bearers, originally the title of officers responsible for keeping order in the Byzantine court.

¹⁵⁰ Now Bosco Marengo in the province of Alessandria, Piedmont.

to them in respect of anything they might hold or possess, legally or illegally, except that he would not allow retention of any goods they might steal from any traveller.¹⁵¹ **p. 52** He made this a firm commitment until St John's Day.¹⁵² The Genoese arranged for the oath of loyalty to him to be sworn by 40 men, and Rainald the imperial chancellor and the count of Biandrate accepted their commitment in the palace of the archbishop of Genoa, subject to the conditions that they would in no circumstances be required as an implication of their loyalty to raise an army or pay money, and that they would receive from the emperor the benefits mentioned earlier in this account.¹⁵³ The Genoese promised that, in the same spirit, they would abandon any *regalia*¹⁵⁴ which they were aware were his by right. In addition, they gave to the emperor and his court 1,200 silver marks.

When arrangements on these lines had been ratified, the emperor sent his messengers to Savona and throughout the whole county.¹⁵⁵ The people of Ventimiglia had all except for children under 14 years of age sworn loyalty to the commune of Genoa in respect of all third parties, and were bound under oath neither to permit nor occasion the surrender of their fort, and to give financial and other assistance to the commune of Genoa against all parties for its safeguarding and retention, and its recovery in the event of loss. When an emissary came to Ventimiglia, however, it came about by unhappy chance that the people took possession of the fort through a disgraceful act of treachery, and demolished it at the instigation of the emperor's representative. At this the Genoese sent ambassadors to the emperor, demanding that this castle be rebuilt, since its loss appeared to be at his instance, and they had undertakings from the emperor that they should not suffer loss in respect of any possession which they had held at the time of the agreement described above. They explained to him the underlying justification for their tenure of that castle so that they would have a stronger case.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ See Belgrano, Caffaro, 'Annals', vol. 11, p. 52, n. 1. This exception may relate to a recent incident near Piacenza, when the emperor's representatives had been robbed of substantial funds from Genoa.

¹⁵² 24 June 1158.

¹⁵³ Rainald of Dassel was Frederick's chancellor from 1156 to 1167 and archbishop of Cologne, 1159–67. Thus, like his near contemporaries Thomas Becket in England and William of Tyre in Jerusalem, he combined high ecclesiastical office with a prominent role in government and administration. On Rainald, see B. Arnold, 'The Western Empire, 1125–1197', *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume 4, c.1024–c.1198 Part II*, eds D. Luscombe and J.S.C. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 400, 412–13; *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, ed. J. Jeep (New York, 2001), pp. 636–37.

¹⁵⁴ See n. 140 on p. 81 above.

¹⁵⁵ Otto of Freising provides a somewhat different account of these events, indicating that the Genoa's fear of the emperor caused them to stop building their wall and to pay over 1000 silver marks. *GF*, pp. 534–35, trans. p. 244.

¹⁵⁶ See n. 138, on p. 80 above.

p. 53 During the reign of the Emperor Conrad,¹⁵⁷ at a time when the unbridled boldness of the people of Ventimiglia had reached such a pitch that they were imprisoning and robbing everyone they came across, rich and poor, pilgrims and others, with the sole intention of piracy and other evil acts, and they did not recognise their crimes so long as they were aware of no avenger of their viciousness, the volume of complaints to the emperor grew so high that he asked the Genoese through instructions and requests to seize and eliminate them and others in the county who were inclining toward such activities, and to bring them under their own rule. The Genoese were driven by many factors, through the letters and requests from the emperor himself, and at the entreaty of very many people whom the hostile inhabitants of Ventimiglia had harmed. They assembled a large army of knights and foot-soldiers and captured the city of Ventimiglia as we have recorded above in the entry for the relevant year.¹⁵⁸ Once the people of Ventimiglia had committed to loyalty in perpetuity, the Genoese built the castle of Ventimiglia, which, as I have said, these same people destroyed by force. Thus the Genoese must take care not to be lulled into a sense of false security by undertakings which do nothing to change a hostile intent.¹⁵⁹

This year the whole world has been parched by an excessive drought, since there has been no rain from the first of May to the last week of March except for a tiny trickle, once a month, rather like dew. So the springs and wells were so dried up that those which used to be full of water in the height of summer have scarcely enough in winter to fill one bucket. Although this has nothing to do with the work in hand, Caffaro remembered it and recorded it, lest it be forgotten.¹⁶⁰ 1158

In the thirty-ninth one-year consulate the six consuls *de comuni* were Ansaldo Mallone, Ogerio di Guido, Gionata Crispino, Rubaldo Bisaccia, Ansaldo Spinola and Lanfranco Pevere; and the four consuls *de placitis* were Boemondo di Oddone, Corso Serra, Guglielmo de Marini and Opizzo Sardena. **p. 54** Through their collective prudence and caution, the condition of the public weal and the affairs of individual Genoese were advanced by excellent governance. Wherever parts of the city wall had been unfinished, the rest of the citizens followed their example of enthusiasm and hard work, and the wall was manifestly completed. It seems unbelievable to many that this task was finished in 53 days through the effort of the

¹⁵⁷ Conrad was never, strictly speaking, emperor, since he was not crowned in Rome before his death in 1152, thus he retained the title 'King of the Romans'.

¹⁵⁸ 1140 (p. 67 above).

¹⁵⁹ The language directly reflects Justinian, *Institutes* 1.26.12, '*satisfactio propositum tutoris malevolum non mutat*'. This suggests that Caffaro might have been familiar with technical legal matters, though the phrase might have been a legal tag in everyday use.

¹⁶⁰ This is a unique digression, reminiscent of traditional chroniclers, in Caffaro's business-like narrative of events.

whole citizenry and people, by the finger of God.¹⁶¹ This is noted in the records¹⁶² of Giovanni the public scribe, who accounted through the wages paid for the actual days and hours worked by the paid labourers on this project, since both the poor and the supervisors were working for remuneration. To enhance the reputation of this achievement through the sheer length of the wall, let people today and in the future be aware that the extension of the wall amounted to eight *stadia* and 520 feet. A *stadium* is the equivalent of 125 paces, or 625 feet, since a pace is equal to 5 feet. The total length was therefore 5,520 feet, and around four-fifths of all this was built, as I have already explained, in the 53 days mentioned above, all continuously dedicated to the one task, because the people, both citizens and common people, worked for part of the day or for their specific shift, in line with the area of the city where they lived and other stipulations. They also constructed 1,700 battlements, as much to make the wall look attractive and to make it stronger as for the convenience and safety of the city and its citizens.

Let it further be known to all that during the term of these same consuls, seven days before the end of January, Frederick the emperor of the Romans captured and destroyed Crema,¹⁶³ and in that same year a huge dispute arose throughout the world about the election of the pope. For on the death of Pope Adrian of blessed memory [1 September 1159], all the bishops and cardinals of the Roman *curia* assembled together to elect a [new] pope. **p. 55** Alexander [III]¹⁶⁴ was elected by the cardinals, and following his election and the disharmony to which it gave rise, he laid bare the manner and nature of this election, and how the devil planted the spark of discord in the Church, and gave instructions to the archbishop of Genoa in the letter which follows below.¹⁶⁵

Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brothers Siro archbishop of Genoa and his suffragans, greeting and the apostolic blessing. The eternal and unchanging foresight of its founder desired the holy and stainless Church from its very beginnings both to be steered by that reasoned logic which requires it to have one shepherd and teacher, whom those in charge of churches

¹⁶¹ Luke 11.20; Exodus 8.19.

¹⁶² 'cartularios'.

¹⁶³ The capture and destruction of Crema took place in January 1160, Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 177–79.

¹⁶⁴ Pope Alexander III, 1159–81. His election inflamed tensions between the Empire and the papacy, as seen here. On this disputed election and the resultant schism and anti-popes, see, Robinson, *Papacy*, pp. 470–74; J. Johrendt, 'The Empire and the Schism', in *Pope Alexander III (1159–81): The Art of Survival*, eds P.D. Clarke and A.J. Duggan (Farnham, 2012), pp. 99–126.

¹⁶⁵ This letter was also sent to other bishops. See also Otto of Freising, *GF*, pp. 624–35, trans., pp. 289–94, where it appears with minor differences. Some of these are noted here, where they clarify or illuminate the text.

throughout the world should obey without dissent, and to join themselves with him in a certain miraculous unity, just as the limbs are connected to the head, and in no respect to disagree with him. Indeed, He promised His apostles in acknowledgement of the strength of their faith, saying, 'Behold I am with you until the end of time.'¹⁶⁶ Without doubt He, whose apostles themselves undertook the leadership of His Church, will in no way allow it to be cheated of what He promised; but He will ensure that it remains stable for ever in its due place, even though it may, from time to time, seem to pitch and toss like Peter's little boat. Wherefore although at this time three dishonest brothers, who have certainly left our company, though they were not of our number, passing themselves off as angels of light even though they belong to Satan, are striving to tear and rip the seamless robe of Christ, which in the words of the psalmist He himself prayed should be snatched from lions and from the flames, and which he begs and prays should be freed from the dog's paw;¹⁶⁷ yet Christ, the Church's founder and its head, will through his cautious helmsmanship protect it as if it were His one and only bride, and does not allow the ship of the great fisherman¹⁶⁸ to undergo shipwreck, however often it is battered by the waves.

While we were at Anagni, our predecessor, Pope Adrian of good memory, paid his debt to nature on 1 September and went to heaven and the world above, leaving behind earth and the world below, at the Lord's call. His body was taken to Rome and on 4 September in St Peter's church, in the presence of virtually all our brothers, he was buried with the customary degree of dignity. The brothers, including ourselves, then according to the custom of the church began in that same church to give more serious thought to finding a new pope in his place. **p. 56** And after three days of discussions amongst themselves about this election, finally all the brothers, however many they were – except for just three, namely Ottaviano,¹⁶⁹ John of San Martino and Guido bishop of Crema – and God be our witness, since we do not lie, but speak the unvarnished truth, reached harmonious and unanimous agreement on our own person, albeit falling short of such a task and so little fitted to the lofty peak of such great office, and with the approval of clergy and people elected me to the pontificate of Rome. But two, John and Guido of Crema whom we have already mentioned, put forward the name of Ottaviano, the third of their number, and strenuously campaigned for his election. This Ottaviano went into such a frenzy of bravado and frantic behaviour that like a

¹⁶⁶ Matthew 28:20, 'Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consummationem saeculi'.

¹⁶⁷ The references are to Psalm 22.20 (*de manu canis*), and St Augustine, *Sermones*, 2.218 (*inconsutilem tunicam*).

¹⁶⁸ St Peter.

¹⁶⁹ Ottaviano, who became Anti-Pope Victor IV (1159–64), soon supported by the emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, see Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 199–225; Robinson, *Papacy*, pp. 78–83, 473–75.

madman he violently swept the cope¹⁷⁰ off our shoulders with his own hands, and carried it off amidst a tumult of outraged shouting – the archdeacon had vested us in this cloak, in accordance with the Church's tradition, despite our struggles of resistance, reflecting our awareness of our shortcomings. But when some of the senators witnessed so great an outrage, one of them, on fire with the divine spirit, snatched the cope from the madman's hand. Ottaviano frantically turned his rabid gaze towards one of his chaplains who had come briefed and prepared for this, and bellowed loudly at him to hurry up and bring the cope he had been carrying. The cloak was brought to him without delay and this same Ottaviano, taking off his cap and inclining his head, in the absence of all the brothers either because of the location or because they chose to absent themselves, arrogantly¹⁷¹ took the cope from the hands of this same chaplain and another of his priests and he himself helped the chaplain and priest to put it on, since no one else was involved in this task. We believe it happened as a divine judgment, to the amusement of many spectators, that the part of the cope meant to cover the front was covering the back, and just as his mind was twisted and his intent perverse, so he had put on the cloak back to front as evidence of his damnation.¹⁷²

At this, the doors of the church which had been closed were unlocked, and gangs of armed horsemen whom, it turned out, he had suborned by distributing cash, rushed in very rowdily with drawn swords; and this lethal plague of a man, since he had¹⁷³ no cardinals and bishops, was surrounded like a wall by this gang of armed knights. **p. 57** Consider, therefore, venerable brothers in Christ, this heinous crime; remark well this accursed sacrilege, and see whether there exists anguish as acute as this, and whether since the very beginnings of the church at its birth an act of such egregious insanity has ever been attempted by any schismatic or heretic you care to name. Our brothers, observing out of the blue so criminal an act, unheard of through the centuries, and afraid of being slaughtered by hired horsemen, retreated, as indeed did we ourselves, to a secure area of the church. And there for nine days on end he had us kept under close guard by his armed

¹⁷⁰ 'mantum' a longer version of the cope, worn only by the pope, and traditionally placed on the newly-elected pope's shoulders as a symbol of his investiture with papal authority. We are grateful to Susan Edgington for help in unravelling this passage.

¹⁷¹ Read 'ambitosus' with the *Gesta Frederici* rather than Belgrano's 'ambitosius'.

¹⁷² The version in Otto of Freising's *GF*, p. 628, includes a further amusing detail omitted from Belgrano's text, 'et cum ipse idem hoc emendare studiosius voluisset, quia capitum manti extra se raptus non poterat invenire, collo fimbrias circumduxit, ut saltem mantus ipse appensus ei quodammodo videretur. Sicque factum est, ut', or 'Although he was most anxious to adjust it, he tied the tassels of the garment around his neck because he was being hurried along and quite beside himself, and unable to find the hood of the cope, with the result that the cope itself barely seemed to be attached to him at all. And so'. Mierow's translation reads 'he slung the fringes round his neck, so that at all events the mantle might appear to be attached to him somehow'. *Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, p. 291.

¹⁷³ Read 'habebat' with Otto of Freising's *GF*, rather than Belgrano's 'habebant'.

gang day and night, preventing us from leaving that room, with the approval of certain senators whom he had corrupted by offering a bribe. But with the people continually shouting protests, and a rumbling threat of imminent violence against the senate for so monstrous an act of sacrilege, we were removed from detention in that secure area. But the same senators, who had received money from Ottaviano, imprisoned us in a more cramped and secure place on the other side of the Tiber. When we had been held there for around three days, the populace as a whole would not tolerate such disgraceful wickedness for a moment longer. So the senators came accompanied by the nobles and the ordinary people, and led us and our brothers through the city with pomp and ceremony and lavish panegyrics and public eulogies, and with even the church bells pealing everywhere as we passed. And so at last we were rescued from the violence of our persecutor and reunited with our liberty. The following Sunday we underwent the solemnities of consecration near Ninfa, not far from the city, in the assembled company of our brother bishops Gregory of Santa Sabina, Hubert of Ostia, Bernard of Porto,¹⁷⁴ Walter of Albano, John of Segni and Bernard of Terracina, the cardinals and abbots, priors, judges, advocates and secretaries, the dean and the members of the choir school, together with the nobles and a proportion of the people of the city, and as is the custom in the Church of Rome, in all magnificence and solemnity, we received there our coronation into the pontifical kingdom. But the aforesaid Ottaviano, who had called together numerous bishops for his consecration, or should I not say execration, while he was still in the city and after he had secretly left it, could muster only one, the bishop of Ferentino as it happens, to endorse his insane effrontery. **p. 58** He sought to entice certain bishops by threats from the emperor, some by popular violence, some by bribes and blandishments, but God stood in his way and he achieved nothing. So despite striving by every means, he could still find no one prepared to lay on him the hands of execration, thus making himself the perpetrator of such sacrilegious arrogance. But John and Gregory whom I have mentioned were shrouded in the darkness of blindness – since it is written, ‘When a sinner reaches the depths of his wickedness, he will be full of contempt’¹⁷⁵ – and even after all this are not recovering their senses from their contemptible presumption. They have raised up this same Ottaviano like a statue, and revere him in their recalcitrant treachery. They have abandoned the unity of the Church and have the temerity to worship him as an idol and an image. He himself, foreshadowing the time of the Antichrist, is raised so high above himself that he has even seated himself in the Temple of God as if he were God displaying himself, and many, not without shedding many tears, have seen with their own eyes this idolatry of desolation standing in a consecrated place.¹⁷⁶ So recognising our own weakness and our lack of moral excellence, we cast our thoughts to God, in hope and placing greater trust in Christ’s mercy, that He will cause His holy

¹⁷⁴ On the location of ‘Portuensis’, see n. 8, p. 50 above.

¹⁷⁵ Proverbs 18.3.

¹⁷⁶ ‘*abominationem desolationis*’, Mark 13.14.

Church, for which that same God appeared in the substance of our mortal state so that He might present a vision to Himself of mortality without a wrinkle or blemish, to rejoice in the calm for which it has longed; and that He will cause the floods from all storms to subside and that there will be nothing which could now stand in the way, wherever His unique Bridegroom¹⁷⁷ has expressed the wish to drive away gloom and miasma. Now therefore, because we lack confidence in the quality of our own merits,¹⁷⁸ we fully retain our belief in your probity and your religious observance, we pray that our weakness may be aided by your prayers and by those of the whole Church, seeking your charity through an apostolic letter and counselling you most diligently that as men of the Catholic Church you set yourselves up as unbreachable walls defending the house of the Lord, and, standing firm and unmoving in devoted belief in your holy mother Roman Church, you retreat not one step from its unity. So if the unrighteous man I have described sends any written instances of his damnation to your region, you should spit them out as they are meant to be spat out, and you must be zealous in despising and rejecting his empty and sacrilegious words.

p. 59 It will already have come to your notice that on the day of our consecration we granted to Ottaviano himself and to his aforesaid supporters a deadline of eight days to return to the bosom and the unity of the mother Church. If they delay in complying beyond that date, through the authority of St Peter and of our own office we shall not postpone imposing the penalty of excommunication on them as well as all their accomplices and supporters, and isolating them from the body of Christ, which is the Church itself. Dated Terracina, 26 September 1159.

In the fortieth annual consulate the four consuls *de comuni* were Rogerone di Ita, Lanfranco di Alberico, Enrico Guercio and Ansaldo Doria. And of the four consuls *de placitis* the four in the four *compagnie* towards Palazzolo were Guglielmo Cavarunco, Anselmo di Caffara and the brothers Nuvelone and Ottobono; the other four heard cases [in the four *compagnie*] towards the Borgo, that is to say Oberto Cancelliere, Amico Grillo, Oberto Recalcato and Nicola Roza.

Since it seems good and useful for past events to be remembered, contemporary happenings to be given consideration, and the future to be anticipated, and likewise the names and deeds of past, present and future consuls of Genoa, and what happened year by year in the city of Genoa, Caffaro started writing them down and making a record of them when he was 20 years old. As is recorded in this book, he has compiled and made note of all this up to the present day, and so long as he shall live in the future he has promised, God willing, to do the same. That is why the truth of how the above-mentioned consuls handled the

¹⁷⁷ 'Sponsus'.

¹⁷⁸ The *GF* version has '*meritorum*', p. 632, preferable on grounds of sense to Belgrano's '*merito*'.

government of the Genoese state during this year, in which Caffaro began the eightieth year of his age, may be ascertained from this record before you, which he wrote. **p. 60** Let it be known to all who are listening that these consuls paid off a total debt owed by previous consuls amounting to 900 *librae*, so that they freed the state from its liability for the aforementioned debt.¹⁷⁹ Furthermore they paid 300 *librae* on the work to construct towers on the wall, and by paying 100 *librae* to redeem it from pledge, removed the fort of Voltaggio from the clutches of a moneylender, and placed it under public supervision and within the jurisdiction of future consuls.¹⁸⁰ They had the wall of the suburb¹⁸¹ of Portovenere built, and dispatched many ambassadors in the interests of the state, Enrico Guercio to the Byzantine emperor and Oberto Spinola to Lupus, king of Spain.¹⁸² As well as all this, they created such a bond amongst the citizens, who were always seriously at odds with each other, to such a degree that throughout their consulate they did not dare a single armed confrontation or affray. And they had consuls elected from the flower of the citizenry. 1160

In the forty-first annual consulate, there were five consuls *de comuni*, namely Rodoano, son of Guglielmo di Mauro, Filippo di Lamberto, Marchio son of Ingo della Volta, Guglielmo Cicala and Oberto Spinola. There were eight consuls *de placitis*, that is to say four in four of the *compagne* and four in the other four. Those towards Palazzolo were Guglielmo Buferio, Lamberto son of Filippo, Guiotto Zurlo and Guido di Lodi. Those towards the Borgo were Amico di Murta, Lamberto Grillo, Nicola Roza and Ansaldo Golia.

p. 61 Although at different times many things frequently happen which bring both good and bad fortune throughout the whole world, during this year many more portentous and more influential events than usual occurred in the realm of Italy.¹⁸³ But since it would be a lengthy and onerous task to recount every single event that occurred in that realm, it is a good idea that it should be recorded how these consuls managed affairs of state and kept the city under control, by relying on the memory of Caffaro, as a priority and without any lapse of time, setting aside all the remaining material. These consuls, by giving much thought to the control of the city at the beginning of their consulate, because it seemed the best and most useful thing to do, began diligently addressing a programme of peace and harmony both at home and abroad. The consuls made the malcontents in the city take an oath there and then not to engage in the usual bickering¹⁸⁴ and brawls. As for others who

¹⁷⁹ On this issue see Dotson, 'Caffaro, Crusade and the *Annales Januensis*', pp. 282–87.

¹⁸⁰ On the fort of Voltaggio see p. 59 above.

¹⁸¹ '*burgi*'.

¹⁸² See the more detailed discussion at n. 47, p. 15 of the Introduction about the identity of this individual who was either Ibn Mardinish, ruler of the Levante, or his brother, Yusuf ibn Mardanish.

¹⁸³ '*regnum*' – the emperor's Italian domains.

¹⁸⁴ '*capillationes*', literally 'hair-pullings'.

contrary to their instructions took up arms and attacked someone from a *compagnia*, the consuls demolished their towers and houses and took away their belongings to the extent that they were held as surety, and bound them by an oath to keep the peace, whether they liked it or not.¹⁸⁵ Besides this, they sent Oberto Spinola, one of their consular colleagues, and a careful and wise man, with five galleys to protect shipping around Corsica and Sardinia all the way to Denia.¹⁸⁶ The Saracens were alarmed and put into a fearful state by this, and stopped putting their galleys to sea, and put their sails and oars in store. So the Genoese ships went and returned, and all safely completed the voyage they had begun in a peaceful passage. But while the Genoese galleys were in the neighbourhood of Denia, Lupus, king of Spain, sent a message that he awaited the consul's pleasure in good faith with a view to discussing peace and harmony with the Genoese. When the consul heard that the king's delegation was showing such humility and patience, he took advice from the consuls *de placitis*, that is to say from Lamberto son of Filippo and Ansaldo Golia who were with him, and from the captains of the galleys, and promised a guarantee of peace to the king and his people on down payment of 10,000 *marabotini* and the remission of customs duties for Genoese merchants throughout his kingdom.

p. 62 When the king heard the consul's representatives, he promised that he would be delighted to do everything that the consul had stipulated. Then the king sent his letter to Genoa without delay, requesting them to send an ambassador to him to take delivery of the *marabotini* and make a reciprocal commitment of peace as had been promised. Having seen the king's letter and listened to his requests, the consuls sent as ambassador to the king a wise and distinguished man, Guglielmo Cassicio, son of Ingo della Volta, to take delivery of the *marabotini* and exchange mutual commitments of peace, with customs duties to be waived throughout the whole of the king's territory. They also sent another envoy, Ottobono, brother of Nuvelone, a noble and wise man, to the king of the Almohads.¹⁸⁷ He was received with high honours throughout their territory, finally reaching the king in Morocco, who received him with much respect. The king confirmed peace with all the Genoese for 15 years on the following terms; that the Genoese would be permitted to pass safely with all their possessions by sea and land through the whole territory and sphere of influence of the Almohads, and the Genoese would not be obliged to pay customs duties in any of their lands beyond a level of 8 per cent, other than in Bugia,¹⁸⁸ where they would be liable to 10 per cent, since a fifth of that tenth was in any case remitted back to the state of Genoa. They sent a further ambassador, Ansaldo Spinola, a nobleman of consular rank, to eastern parts, that

¹⁸⁵ See, *passim*, the consuls' brief, CD, vol.1, no. 128, pp. 153–66. Epstein, *Genoa*, pp. 75–76 discusses the mood of the city at this time.

¹⁸⁶ Denia is a trading port between Valencia and Alicante on the eastern coast of Spain.

¹⁸⁷ The ruler of the Almohads at this time was Caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1163), Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 200–215.

¹⁸⁸ Bejaia, in present-day Algeria. The implication is that Bugia was already paying tax revenues to Genoa; it had been attacked by the Genoese in 1136, see p. 66 above.

is to the holy city of Jerusalem, along with the ambassador of the Roman *curia*, John the cardinal priest of Sts John and Paul, to seek justice for the Genoese.¹⁸⁹

Additionally the consuls commissioned the construction of such robust and impressive new works on and around the forts of Voltaggio, Fiaccone, Parodi, Rivarolo and Portovenere, which were outside the city and of earlier construction, that when passers-by saw them, their sheer excellence drove out any other notions which were in their minds. **p. 63** The effect was that the strength of the new works brought not only much joy to their friends, but also great apprehension when it came to their enemies' attention.

As for the rest, Caffaro has not forgotten to record how the Lord Pope Alexander was received by the archbishop of Genoa, the clergy, the consuls and the whole people.¹⁹⁰ Let all nations know that the archbishop, together with the clergy and the consuls and the whole population – men and women, old people, youths and children, gave the aforesaid pontiff a splendid welcome worthy of his rank, with ceremonial honours and public eulogies on all sides and with the church bells pealing all through the city, praising God and glorifying His name, as we can read in the book of Psalms: 'Let young men and virgins, the old alongside the young, praise the name of God, because his name alone has been raised on high.'¹⁹¹ The name of the Lord was truly exalted that day, when the Genoese in their turn received Pope Alexander as the Lord's representative, just as the Lord himself says in the Gospel: 'He who welcomes you, welcomes me';¹⁹² and, in another place: 'I was a guest, and you took me in.'¹⁹³ For on that occasion they entertained our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, when with great affection and in an outpouring of joy they lavished upon our apostolic Lord and his bishops and cardinals who took our Lord's place the most magnificent palaces and hospitality and huge expenses, at a level appropriate to Him. And since the Lord Pope was mindful of such great ceremony and distinction, he began discussions with the aforesaid consuls on how to raise the status of the Church in the city of Genoa.¹⁹⁴ As these consuls could not complete the task they had begun because too little of their term remained, they passed it to the new consuls for completion. **p. 64** What the incoming consuls did

¹⁸⁹ Cardinal John was also seeking support for Pope Alexander III in his struggle with the anti-pope, Victor IV. William of Tyre noted that John travelled east with a group of Genoese and that they landed at Jubayl, the home of the Embriaci. William of Tyre, pp. 852–54, trans. vol. 2, pp. 285–86; Robinson, *Papacy*, pp. 362–63.

¹⁹⁰ Pope Alexander was in Genoa between January and mid-March 1162. Alexander III, '*Epistolae et privilegia*', *PL* 200, cols 135–36.

¹⁹¹ Psalm 148, 12–13.

¹⁹² Matthew 10, 40.

¹⁹³ Matthew 25, 35.

¹⁹⁴ For Alexander's grant of papal protection to the Genoese as a result of this visit see *LI*, vol. 1/6, no. 948, pp. 36–38.

during their term about this matter and about the whole question of advancement of the public interest, Caffaro will, God willing, not be slow to record when their term comes, if he is [still] alive. 1161

In the forty-second annual consulate, the five consuls *de comuni* were Guglielmo Burone, Ingo della Volta, Nuvelone, Rubaldo Bisaccia and Grimaldo. There were eight consuls *de placitis*, of whom four heard cases on four of the *compagnie* and four in the other four. Those hearing cases towards Palazzolo were Boemondo di Oddone, Buonvassallo di Lamberto Medico, Guglielmo Capodorgio and Guglielmo Cavarunco, and those towards Borgo were Ido Pizo, Guglielmo Doria, Oberto Recalcato and Gontardo Rufo.

Since Caffaro has recorded in writing year by year those deeds which were done both at home and overseas by the Genoese and by many others from the time of the capture of Caesarea until the present, it is appropriate that this same Caffaro should not neglect to record what was brought about during this year [1162] by the Lord Frederick, truly emperor of the Romans in perpetuity, in Liguria, in the city of Genoa and in respect of Genoese outside the city. Let it be known to all men now and in the future that the Lord Frederick, emperor of the Romans and emperor in perpetuity, surpassing all the Caesars in his efforts to rebuild the empire, and bending the necks of all beneath the yoke of his triumph, deserves to stand ahead of each of them individually and of their combined power. For having besieged the Milanese for three years he throttled them to such a degree by starvation and through armed force that they could keep going no longer. On the first day of March this year they threw themselves unarmed at the feet of the emperor and placed themselves and their city, and both the fixed and moveable property which they possessed, unconditionally under the emperor's power. **p. 65** On bended knee and weeping copiously they pleaded continually to be spared their lives. The emperor, accepting the advice of Her Highness the Empress Lady Beatrice and of his leading courtiers, granted them their lives and the personal possessions they had with them, and moved by devotion to God spared them the capital sentence which by law they deserved. Then he had the city completely razed, and told them to settle in four settlements two miles outside the city, on condition that each settlement should be at a distance of two miles from the others. This was done on that basis.¹⁹⁵ As a result all the cities and towns of Lombardy and the maritime regions as far as Rome were gripped by all-consuming fear and obeyed the emperor in every respect. Nonetheless, when the Genoese were summoned to the court, they immediately sent, from the consuls and the best elements of the city, the consuls Guglielmo Burone and Grimaldo, as well as Guglielmo Vento, Marchio della Volta, Enrico Doria, Ogerio di Guido, Oberto Spinola, Filippo di Iusta and Buonvassallo Bulferico, to Pavia, where the emperor had his court at that time. They were received with dignity. Then the leading courtiers sought on behalf

¹⁹⁵ For this process see Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 180–83.

of the emperor to persuade the Genoese ambassadors to pledge their loyalty there and then, and [agree to] whatever other commitments the other cities and towns had made or were in the process of making.

The ambassadors said they had always been and were now ready to be genuinely obedient to all the emperor's commands. But just as the Genoese stood out ahead of the other cities and towns of Italy in their service to the emperor, so they humbly beseeched his imperial majesty for a *quid pro quo* in exchange for their dutiful service over and above what the others received. When the emperor was told of the ambassadors' response, he was greatly pleased, and gave orders for a letter of good will and gratitude to be given to them to deliver to the consuls and to the whole Genoese people. **p. 66** He gave instructions by means of the letter and through the ambassadors themselves that when they had read the letters, within eight days, six or eight from amongst the consuls and the leading citizens should come to him without delay, with whom he might authoritatively discuss Genoa's service to the empire and its recompense. Consequently the rest of the consuls, in consultation with the common council of the city, sent as ambassadors to the emperor two of their number, Ingo della Volta and Nuvelone, and five leading citizens, Lanfranco Pevere, Bertramo de Marino, Ido Gontardo, Buonvassallo Bulferico, Rogerone di Ita and Giovanni the public scribe, a reliable man, highly qualified in law, to whose reliability is entrusted the whole state's requirement for documentation, year by year. They all arrived at the court and were received with due honours. And there they discussed many matters over several days with Lord Rainald, selected for the sacred church of Cologne¹⁹⁶ and chancellor of the kingdom of Italy, and respected ambassador of his imperial majesty, whose intelligence and reputation follow closely in the footsteps of Cicero, and with other leading courtiers. They then swore an oath of loyalty to the emperor on the spot, and promised to deliver the specified obligations to the empire as is laid out in the formal written agreements. Whereupon the emperor confirmed in perpetuity to the Genoese full sovereign rights over their city and the possessions which they held, and granted many other concessions, by means of a formal instrument sealed with a gold seal.¹⁹⁷

Remaining silent for a while about the emperor, let Caffaro record in writing how the Lord Pope Alexander raised the status of the church in Genoa during the term of these consuls. So let the present generation and future generations know that the aforesaid venerable Lord Pope Alexander made efforts in many and various ways¹⁹⁸ to elevate the church of Genoa as is written in the legal document which was granted by him to that church.¹⁹⁹ **p. 67** Besides, Caffaro should not omit

¹⁹⁶ As archbishop.

¹⁹⁷ See **Document 13** below, dated 19 June 1162. See also the Introduction, above, pp. 2122 and Epstein, pp. 76–78.

¹⁹⁸ Hebrews 1.1.

¹⁹⁹ *LI*, vol. 1/6, no. 948, pp. 36–38 and in Alexander III, '*Epistolae et privilegia*', *PL*, p. 200, cols 135–36. Alexander III also lobbied strenuously for Genoese rights in the Holy

to describe how the Genoese conducted themselves during this year inside and outside the city. Let it be known by all who are listening that during the term of these consuls the Genoese took many Pisans prisoner and captured a huge treasure with galleys in Pisan territory. They killed some of the more prominent prisoners and took the rest to captivity in Genoa with the treasure. Whose fault it was, and by what justification they did this, it is essential for the truth to be known through Caffaro's account. It is true that the Genoese and Pisans made a peace agreement in the past, and were bound by oath to safeguard each other's persons and assets, and to give mutual help to give access to justice everywhere except in Sardinia which the Genoese excluded from the oath, so that whenever the Genoese wanted to make war on the Pisans over Sardinia, they would be released from being bound by the oath. They did this because the Pisans did not wish to hold it in common with the Genoese, and in this way they mutually maintained peace for a long time up to the present day; except that whenever the Pisans were in distant places alongside the Genoese, they kept up a continuous stream of verbal aggravation, as is their way.

This is how the devil, enemy of the human race, sowed the spark of discord around this time between the Genoese and the Pisans, as this present account will explain later. The Pisans initiated this quarrel. For at that time 1,000 Pisans who were in the city of Constantinople breached the peace treaty and attacked the few Genoese traders there, about 300 in number, in an armed gang with a view to robbing and killing them. When the Genoese saw that they had been illegally attacked by the Pisans, they sprang to arms to defend themselves and their goods, and bravely did battle with the Pisans all day long. **p. 68** With the arrival of evening they saw that they could not overcome the Genoese and said: 'Let us give up what we are doing and from now on let's trust each other and not let either side do this.' At this both sides stopped fighting. But early next morning the Pisans assembled a large mob of Venetians, Greeks and other troublemakers resident in Constantinople and arrived at the Genoese trading station in an armed band with the intention of vandalising it. Judging that they could not withstand such a large number of men, the Genoese abandoned their homes and their possessions and retreated saving only their lives.²⁰⁰ The Pisans broke into their trading station and seized such moveable property as they found there, worth some 30,000 *hyperperi*, and captured alive and killed a young man from one of the most noble families of Genoa, Ottone son of Rufo. In consequence of this, those Genoese who had been robbed quickly reached Genoa, and gave a blow by blow account to the Genoese in the city of everything which had happened to them. Whereupon, stung by overwhelming anguish at such a great injustice and at this insufferable arrogance

Land, see **Documents 16a–c** below.

²⁰⁰ For this incident and further background reading see J. Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2006), pp. 114–15, and p. 212, n. 13, plus Day, *Genoa's Response to Byzantium*, pp. 25–26.

directed against the Pisans' neighbours and kinsmen, like thirsty men rushing to water the Genoese to a man began to fit out galleys round the clock and then board them with weapons and food and oars. And in one day, without any order from the consuls, they fitted out 12 galleys for war. But the consuls gave instructions that the galleys should not leave the city until they had sent letters of renunciation to Pisa, and promptly sent a courier to Pisa with a letter accusing the Pisans of a breach of the treaty. Here we set out the contents of the letter: 'From the consuls of the Genoese to the consuls of the Pisans and their people. We have been harassed over a long period and provoked by you at every turn throughout the world, and nowhere can we find peace and quiet wherever you are strong. Now that you are not satisfied by shameful acts of injustice, or by [inflicting] unacceptable losses [on us], or by the most cruel carnage and foul murders not of any random persons but of our own nobles, or, on top of all this, by the loud insults you continually hurl at us as if we were perfidious enemies, we will not further endure being driven out of Sardinia, which our city liberated from the Saracens, or the invasion of our warehouses which you most violently occupy. **p. 69** Therefore we set you free from the conditions of the peace we had entered into, since we are not shackled by the treaty which you have broken. We thus communicate to you our repudiation of the peace, which is wholly justified.'

The messenger returned bearing a response with no hint of comfort to the Genoese or of compromise, so the consuls gave instructions to the men on the galleys I mentioned to move swiftly to avenge such wickedness and arrogance. The crews of these galleys obeyed this command, and arrived in short order to punish the wickedness and contempt of the Pisans. Twelve galleys reached Porto Pisano. They destroyed the tower of the harbour with the men and women of the city of Pisa looking on, and captured many ships along with their passengers and considerable valuable cargo. They sent the men and the treasure to Genoa, and set fire to the ships and left them. Then the galleys returned to Portovenere and stood guard there, so that if Pisan galleys happened to emerge from the Arno, they would follow them in company with other ships which would come from Genoa. Another four galleys which went in search of the Pisans around Corsica and Sardinia captured many ships and *sagitteae* belonging to the Pisans, as well as a galley on its way from Sardinia on a diplomatic mission and also protecting their shipping, along with one of the Pisan consuls, called Buonacurso, who was transporting much valuable property with him in the galley. Ottone Rufo and his associates killed many of the higher class men on board those ships and the galley, to avenge the death of his murdered son, and they brought many others including the consul in captivity with all their property to Genoa. When the Pisans knew the facts of this matter, they mourned their dead and lamented their lost cargo, then, to defend their shipping, they began to fit out galleys and *sagitteae* which were arriving from overseas. Meanwhile it so happened that the emperor's chancellor [Rainald of Dassel] came to Pisa. The Pisans immediately threw themselves at his feet with many pleas that he go and search for the consul and the others captured by the Genoese and release

them from captivity. **p. 70** The head of the emperor's chancery,²⁰¹ stirred by his religious feelings, sent the royal chaplain,²⁰² Lord Sicardo, to Genoa, a man pre-eminent in all the virtues, to ask the Genoese if they would hand over the Pisan prisoners to him for the love of God and respect for himself. He enjoined them to stop their assault on the Pisans, until they heard the emperor's instructions in respect of the past aggression which had been perpetrated by both parties. The Genoese listened to the chancellor's request and instruction, and beyond any doubt fully complied with what he had asked for and commanded. They disarmed the galleys and *sagitteae* which they had armed to attack the Pisans, and handed over the consul and the other captured Pisans to the royal chaplain, with a strong request that he would not fail to impose on the Pisans the same order as he had imposed on themselves regarding the [Pisan] attack on them.

When the chancellor knew that the Genoese were going to be so compliant with his order, he promised them his affection and patronage in ample measure, and did not neglect to impose there and then on the Pisans the same order as he had given to the Genoese in respect of the attack on the Pisans. The Pisans were overjoyed at the release of their people, and promised to observe the chancellor's order to the letter. Yet a short time later they deceitfully sent 36 galleys and *sagitteae* towards Sardinia ostensibly to guard their shipping, and near Pianosa²⁰³ captured two Genoese ships which were safely returning. On receipt of this intelligence, the 12 galleys which were in Portovenere set out without delay to intercept the Pisan galleys. They caught them on the way back, and for a whole day they lay so close alongside, repeatedly surging forward and retreating, that they wounded many Pisans by firing arrows, challenging them again and again to detail off 12 galleys from the rest to do battle against their 12. The Pisans were afraid and were unwilling to do this. But all 36 ships bore down together on the Genoese, and made all speed to capture them. Swift as falcons, the Genoese turned tail, and again and again rapidly drew away from them and as they sped along repeatedly turned back to attack them with standards unfurled and weapons in their hands. **p. 71** So taunting them in this way through the day, they left them behind when evening came. Passing by way of Pianosa, which they destroyed, and Corsica and Sardinia, they captured many ships and single-masted galleys,²⁰⁴ with considerable cargo and many men. Returning via Porto Pisano they came back safe and sound to Portovenere, and immediately informed the Genoese consuls what had happened.

The consuls were perturbed by such treacherous behaviour by the Pisans, and began to fit out many galleys, and *sagitteae* and other ships. They called a public meeting, and gave their approval for the whole Genoese population, under oath, to

²⁰¹ 'archicancellarius'.

²⁰² 'capellanum'.

²⁰³ 'Planusa' a small island between Corsica and the Tuscan coast.

²⁰⁴ 'galotas'.

make haste to equip themselves with food and weapons and everything necessary for war; and they ordered them to go to Porto Pisano with a large sea-going fleet to take their revenge on such monstrous treachery by the Pisans. At which everyone at the meeting spoke as one in their enthusiasm: 'So be it! So be it!'²⁰⁵

When all the preparations had been made, the emperor's chancellor came to Genoa, and made clear his dismay at what had happened. But he ordered them to hold in suspense everything that had been set in hand, until the events which had occurred could be communicated to the emperor. He gave orders that eight Genoese and eight Pisans go to the emperor in Turin, so that they might hear and take due note of the emperor's command. The Genoese went straight away to the court, that is to say the consul Grimaldo, Capodorgogio, Lanfranco Pevere, Corso, Oberto Cancelliere, Simone Doria, Baldizone Usodimare, Bigoto, Guido di Lodi and Ottone di Milano. The Pisan representatives were the consuls Enrico and Pietro, Marzoco, Gerardo Gausfredi and Ranieri Gaitano. These men all went to the emperor, to the court he had decided to hold in the city of Turin.

p. 72 The Genoese had briefed themselves, and were all ready to respond to the Pisans who were intending to complain against the Genoese in their usual long-winded way. They were at court four or five days before the Pisans arrived, and in that time won so much good will from all the leading courtiers that by the time they arrived the Pisans dared not mutter anything hostile to them. On the contrary, on that famous day, when the Lord Emperor intended to be crowned with the empress Beatrice Augusta – since Beatrice through her beneficence beatifies the whole Empire²⁰⁶ – just as the Pisans accosted the Genoese at the cathedral, they were driven out and ignominiously ejected from the main body of the church, whilst the Genoese were seated in elevated locations, with an unimpeded view of the whole church and the area around the emperor and empress. It so happened that Ramon Berenguer (IV), count of Barcelona, who was on his way to court, died on the eighth of August in the village of San Dalmazzo.²⁰⁷ When the emperor rushed there, he took the consul Grimaldo, Simone Doria and Capodigogio with him. When he got back, the emperor ordered all the Genoese and Pisans I have listed to present no complaints until his return, since he had made ready to go to Germany, and because of the urgency of his journey he could not spare the time to adjudicate disputes. He made the aforesaid Genoese and Pisans swear an enduring truce until his arrival. And he had them include in the same oath that they must see to it that within three days of their arrival back in Genoa and Pisa respectively 200

²⁰⁵ Psalm 106 (Vulgate 105).48, '*et dicet omnis populus fiat fiat*'.

²⁰⁶ '*imperium totum facit beatum*'.

²⁰⁷ San Dalmazzo is about 55 miles south of Turin. For Frederick's fulsome reaction to the death of Ramon Berenguer IV, see H. Appelt, ed., *Die Urkunden Friedrichs I*, 5 vols (Hanover 1979–90), vol. 1 (1158–1167), no. 302, pp. 248–51.

Genoese and 200 Pisans swear the oath establishing the truce. And so, when they returned, this was put into effect.

During that year, the Genoese wisely and bravely performed these and many other deeds, as was appropriate, after the usual manner of the Romans,²⁰⁸ both outside and inside the city, for the honour of their country. **p. 73** For in the city the aforesaid consuls put the citizens in such a state of unity that they peacefully settled the bitter feud which existed between the Piccamigli and the sons of the late Oberto Usodimare, by obliging them to keep the peace under the terms of an oath to bury their differences in a lasting way. Besides, for the public good, they bought up and demolished many houses, which were on the shore line stretching from the dyke of Bocca di Bo' to that of the church of Santo Sepulcro; and on that land they had slipways set up and organised to facilitate shipping and constructed a new, direct road and a bridge over the canal of Santo Sepulcro.²⁰⁹ At the end of their consulate they organised the election of six consuls *de comuni* and four *de placitis*. They passed on to them a written account of such public money as they had held setting out in order their revenue-raising and expenditures. 1162

In the forty-third annual consulate the six consuls [*de comuni*] were Rogerone de Ita, Guglielmo Cassicio, Guglielmo Vento, Amico Grillo, Oberto Spinola and Lanfranco Pevero. The four consuls *de placitis* were Corso Serra, Ottobono brother of Nuvelone, Oberto Cancelliere and Ugo di Baldizone, who dispensed justice for the men of the whole city.

All men who hold power and control over the public affairs of cities and towns and who confer about their contentious issues should be devoid of hate and of love, because as a certain sage said: 'Wherever you apply intellect, it prevails; if desire grips you it is in control and the mind is worth nothing.' So the consuls of cities and towns ought to be far from these two emotions, I mean hate and love, in case the longing induced by hate and love causes them to stumble from the path of passion for the truth, as a consequence of hate and love, but it is right²¹⁰ that they should always make lawful judgments.²¹¹ **p. 74** In this regard, it can truly be said

²⁰⁸ Caffaro again likens the Genoese to the ancient Romans.

²⁰⁹ For the law enabling compulsory purchase for new quays, see *LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 197, pp. 287–89.

²¹⁰ We have preferred '*deceat*' instead of '*doceat*' in the MSS, on grounds of sense.

²¹¹ Julius Caesar, in Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, 51.1–3 is reported as saying, '*Omnes homines... qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa officium, neque quisquam omnium libidini simul et usui paruit. Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet; si libido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet*'. 'All men who confer about contentious issues should be free of hatred, friendship, anger and pity. The mind does not easily perceive the truth where these emotions are at work, nor has anyone ever obeyed desire and best advantage at the same

that the reputation of the consuls of Genoa in promoting the public interests of the city of Genoa and in handing down judgments without corrupt proceedings stands out up to the present day compared with every one of their equivalents in other cities and towns anywhere in the world. That is why Caffaro must not be dilatory in recording in his usual way how the aforesaid consuls *de comuni* and *de placitis* administered affairs of state and dispensed justice during that year. Let it therefore be clear to those who are listening that the aforesaid consuls kept the governance of the city on a decent and stable course, in conditions of civic order and harmony, through to the end of their consulate, by furthering the public good of Genoa, punishing thieves and footpads and every kind of criminal act, and by taking anticipatory measures against quarrels and squabbles in the city and throughout their whole jurisdiction outside it. For when they detected thieves and footpads, who for many years in the past had lain in wait around the city and time and again by sleight of hand extracted vast amounts of money from the purses of the rich, they tied them hand and foot as parricides were punished, then put them to death by plunging them into the sea with heavy weights of stones hung around their necks.²¹² In this way they got rid for the duration of their consulate of the usual crimes of thieves and footpads and instigators of quarrels and squabbles through fear of the penalty I have described. Furthermore at the end of their consulate they clearly and openly displayed at a publicly-convened meeting and in the presence of all a written and consecutive account of the whole income and expenditure of the state, both by what means and from what sources they had generated income and likewise the destination of their payments. They deposited 6,800.5 *librae* in the safekeeping of the newly-elected consuls as the balance of the income and expenditure to which I referred, as was precisely determined and written down earlier, and is recorded in the public register. What am I to say about the consuls *de placitis*, who for the whole period elapsed attracted praise for being too deeply in thrall to fairness and justice?

p. 75 As for the rest, on paying his debt to nature on the last day of September [1163], Siro of good memory and a life deserving of praise, first archbishop of

time. Wherever you apply intellect, it prevails; if desire grips you it is in control and the mind is worth nothing.' The third sentence is quoted verbatim by Caffaro, the only precise classical quotation in his works. Sallust was widely taught in the medieval Latin syllabus. 'The fervour and economy of his moral sententiae appealed to all who read and used him, and his general theory for the rise and decline of the [Roman] Republic gave Sallust a status higher than that of a master of eloquence', in V. Brown, ed., *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Medieval and Renaissance Translations and Commentaries*, 8 vols (Washington DC, 2003), vol. 8, p. 195. See pp. 186–326 for a detailed account of medieval interest in Sallust. This passage from Sallust is also quoted by Rahewin in the *Gesta Frederici*, pp. 490–93, trans. p. 219.

²¹² This draconian approach contrasts sharply with the 'Consuls' Brief' of 1143, in which no death penalty is prescribed, CD, vol. 1, no. 128, pp. 153–66.

Genoa, arrived in heaven from earth and from the life below reached the joys of heaven at the summons of the Lord. And there he deservedly joined the company of his predecessor, another Siro, most holy bishop of Genoa, and the multitude of all the other blessed. That same day, after his burial, the clergy and members of the holy orders, the consuls and a large part of the senate convened in unity of spirit with the agenda of choosing an archbishop.²¹³ The choice was delegated, by unanimous agreement, to the abbots of San Benigno, San Siro and Santo Stefano; the provosts of Santa Maria delle Vigne and San Donato; the priests Giovanni from San Damiano, Vassallo from Santa Maria di Castro and Oberto from Sant'Ambrosio; and from the canons, the priest Rinaldo, master Anselmo and the subdeacon Dodono. They all swore as follows, in respect of this election: 'May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with us. Together with my colleagues who have been assigned to this task, without dishonesty or dissimulation, and with no impediment, unswayed by love, hate, fear or any conflicting interest, I will choose that person for the archbishopric of this city whom I know or honestly believe to be the most suitable, distinguished and best-fitted for this task by his principles and learning, provided that he publicly concurs in our choosing him in this manner.' After the oath had been administered, the appointed electors gathered by the altar of San Lorenzo, and considering first the canons of this same church, they chose as Archbishop Lord Ugo, currently archdeacon. That day he was joyfully installed on the archbishop's throne by the clergy and people. 1163

²¹³ 'senatus', this is one of two references to a senate in the context of electing an archbishop (see pp. 146–47 below), in 1163 and 1188 respectively. **Document 1f**, dated 1169, also refers to the senate, in a grandiloquent reference to Lanfranco Alberico. J. F. Niermeier, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2002), vol. 2, p. 1247 defines 'senatus' as a 'municipal curia'. There does not appear to have been an upper house in the day to day governance of Genoa, and this body may have been reserved for major acts of state or appointments such as this.

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Confidential Account of the Genoese Delegation to Rome, 1121

This is a translation of a text included with Belgrano's text of footnote (1) on p. 20 of the 'Annals' (p. 20, n. 1). Belgrano reports that he has personally inspected the document in the Genoese Archives, 'on the original parchment' (Materie Politiche, Trattati, mazzo 1). His text, which we follow, differs only very slightly from that included by Pertz as an appendix to the Annals (MGHSS, vol. 18, p. 356), as having been given to him by Michele Canale.¹ A further witness was I. Pflugk-Harttung, Iter Italicum (Stuttgart, 1883), p. 456.

An agreement was reached between trusted associates of the Lord Pope Calixtus and the Genoese Caffaro and Berizo, who had gone to the Roman *curia* on behalf of the consuls and of their city to deal with the Corsican matter, to the effect that these [two] Genoese citizens committed under oath on their own names and on behalf of their consuls to return to Rome for the feast of St Martin, ready to pay 1,500 marks to the *curia*, 1,200 for the pope's expenses and 300 to the *curia* [itself], in gold, silver and in coins, on the basis that 13 *solidi* of Pavia or the equivalent in other currencies, would be paid as equivalent to 1 mark; plus 50 ounces of gold for the Roman clergy, for providing approval and authority to their case. Furthermore the consuls or their representatives who were then about to go to Rome would promise on oath that should war be declared by the Pisans on the Church of Rome on this account, they would assist the Roman Church in good faith, and would themselves declare war. They would neither arrange peace nor a truce nor declare a ceasefire unless authority had been granted by the Lord Pope Calixtus or his catholic successor. They would observe all these conditions in good faith and without dishonest or evil intent, subject only to catastrophe at sea or capture en route. And following this negotiation, they would deliver all that had been agreed. They made a down-payment of 50 marks of silver to the *curia* for this purpose. The *praefectus* Pietro; Stefano Normanno; Leone, son of Pietro Leone; and Cencio Fragapane, on behalf of himself and his brother Leone, took an oath through their representative Gentile di Franco that if the Genoese delivered their commitments, the Lord Pope Calixtus, together with the bishops and cardinals and with no deception, would anathematise the current right to consecrate the Corsican bishops, and neither he nor his successors would concede consecration

¹ See also Introduction, pp. 12–13. The fact that this document exists at all is probably due to Caffaro's need to be able to account for, and presumably claim back, the huge outlay described.

of these bishops to the Pisan or any other church, but only to the Church in Rome; and the lord pope would likewise place a public interdict on the Pisans from consecrating Corsican bishops, and would consecrate people chosen from that island who presented themselves to him and were found worthy. This compact was struck with the agreement and authority of the lord pope, in the presence of Peter, Bishop of Ostia and Azon, Bishop of Bigorre, Cardinals Giovanni of San Grisogono and Pietro of Santa Maria in Trastevere, and lay representatives Pietro Leone and Ottaviano, brother of the *praefectus* and Nicola de Ancilla Dei. The lord pope promised to go along with what these persons had concluded on this matter. This agreement was reached in front of the church of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Silice on 16 June in the year of Our Lord 1121, the second year of the pontificate of Pope Calixtus II.

I, Caffaro, and Berizo made the following sworn commitments and promises in Rome for the common good of our city. To the lord pope, 1,700 silver marks², of which we have already paid over to him 500, at a rate of 5 Pavian for 4 Roman with interest;³ to the cardinals and bishops, along with certain lay representatives, 300 silver marks; to the priests and clerks, 50 *unciae* of gold; to Peter, bishop of Ostia, 303 *unciae* of gold in *tarini*, of which he already has 25. At a rate of 10 Pavian *solidi* to the *uncia*, which we exchanged at a rate of 5 for 4, including interest and under oath, which is recorded by the Romans to whom the money is owed. To Pietro Leone we promised 100 silver marks, of which he already has 50, which we have to repay to the Romans at the rate of interest mentioned above. We also committed 60 silver marks to the sons of Pietro Leone, 40 to Leone Fraga, 100 silver marks to the *praefectus*, and to the bishop of Aix 100 *librae* in Pavian *denarii*, currently in issue in Pavia. All this was pledged by an oath taken by Caffaro and Berizo. Without an oath, and on our personal undertaking, we promised one green gemstone to the wife of Pietro Leone, and to Pietro Leone himself we promised one piece of engraved silver, a quantity of cloves, and other benefits. To Stefano Normanno we promised 25 silver marks out of the 300 mentioned above, and we promised to make up the amount to make good the shortfall. We swore that we would give 20 *solidi* a month to each man on the galley from Cognone,⁴ and 20 *librae* to the whole galley and two *denarii* a day to each man, after it had left the Roman channel and returned to Genoa. We should also take into account what we have given to Colono,⁵ both capital and interest, that is to say 14 *librae* of old Pavian currency, which we changed at four for five with interest. There are a further 10 *librae* in respect of Guglielmo Cillobianco, and 4 for Gilio Romano, these last offered under oath. I, Caffaro, swore on the lives of the consuls that I would give 70 *librae* or the equivalent to Berizo, within 20 days

² 500 more than agreed with the papal representatives!

³ In other words, the Genoese borrowed at a rate of 20%.

⁴ We have not successfully identified this place (or person?).

⁵ Our interpretation of the text suggests that Colono is a Roman moneylender. There are no grounds for identifying him as an early member of the Colonna family.

of returning to Genoa, unless released from my obligation by the word of his wife or mother-in-law.⁶

⁶ These financial transactions are complex. Essentially, the Genoese obligations were initially fixed in weights of silver and gold, at a known price in Pavian currency. It appears that they were obliged to borrow Roman currency in exchange for Pavian currency in order to purchase the precious metals. The combination of exchange and interest rates amounted to a 20% charge for the equivalent number of Roman *denarii*. It also seems probable that Berizo had borrowed money from his wife's family, and that Caffaro was obliged to pay back at least some of this, unless released from his obligation.

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The Liberation of the Cities of the East

The text we have translated is that in L. Belgrano, ed., 'Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori', Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 118 vols (Rome 1887–1993), vols 11–14 bis, (Rome, 1890–1901), vol. 11, pp. 97–124. Page numbers refer to this text.

Introduction by Iacopo Doria

p. 97 Since things which are merely committed to memory are easily forgotten through the passage of time, philosophers and scholars of the past recorded in writing what they thought would be of benefit to later generations. Nothing is to be found in the 'Annals' of the commune of Genoa, composed by Caffaro, a noble citizen of Genoa, about the capture of Jerusalem, Antioch, Tripoli and the many other cities in the East in the capture of which men from Genoa very frequently participated with a strong force of galleys and sailing ships with warriors on board. While I, Iacopo Doria, was searching through the manuscripts and books of the lord Oberto Doria, my late grandfather, who had an amazingly good knowledge of the past history of this city, I found an old document in his archives written by this same Caffaro which relates the capture of Jerusalem and of many other cities. So I have had a copy written out in this volume. Nothing has been added or removed, so that those deeds¹ are here made clear to readers.² *Caffaro's book begins here*

p. 99 Since almost everything which has been done or has existed on earth since the world began has been written down and expounded by learned and knowledgeable men, it seems worthwhile and useful that the truth be known by means of this written account now before you by Caffaro, of how and when the cities of Jerusalem and Antioch, together with other cities and coastal towns in the east, were freed from servitude to the Turks and Saracens. Let it therefore be clear to all men now living and yet to come that in the time of Pope Urban II of good memory Duke Godfrey came to Genoa with the count of Flanders and other noblemen wanting to visit the Sepulchre of the Lord, and there boarded a Genoese ship which was called the 'Pomella'.³ From there they reached Alexandria with

¹ 'gesta'.

² Manuscript B adds that 'Caffaro was lord of Caschifelone in the Savignone area, once belonging to the Lord Ruggiero, descended from the noble family *De Porta*'.

³ Duke Godfrey is Godfrey of Bouillon, one of the leaders of the First Crusade; the 'count of Flanders' probably referred to Count Robert I (1071–93) who had been to Jerusalem in the late

the Genoese, and from Alexandria they arrived at Jerusalem with Saracen knights who escorted them to the gate of the city. When they wanted to pass through the gate to visit the Sepulchre of our Lord, the gatekeepers immediately blocked their entry until each of them paid one bezant⁴ entry fee in the usual way. When the Christians, who had come there in the service of God, understood what the Saracens wanted, they began to give what they had demanded. But Duke Godfrey, who was one of the more eminent among them, did not give a bezant as quickly as the others because his treasurer who carried his money was briefly absent from his master's side until Godfrey summoned him. One of the gate-keepers gave the duke a heavy punch on the neck.⁵ **p. 100** The duke bore this stoically, while nevertheless praying to God that before his own death He would allow him to extract vengeance with his own sword for this insult. Then the duke gave his bezant, and entering the gate with the rest, venerated the Sepulchre of our Lord, and the other sanctuaries and our Lord's manger in Bethlehem, and reached the River Jordan, where Christ was baptised by John the Baptist. Three days after they had arrived at Jerusalem, they returned to Alexandria with the knights who had escorted them. From there the party made the sea crossing to Genoa with the Genoese in the ship 'Pomella' I have already mentioned.

Duke Godfrey lost no time in hurrying from Genoa to Saint-Gilles, and there he discussed the liberation of the [Holy] Sepulchre with Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, and many other counts and barons from that area.⁶ They formed a plan along these lines, that they would gather on the forthcoming Day of the Annunciation [25 March] at Le Puy, and make proposals and firm commitments on what action they would take in performing their duty to God.⁷ After word of this had spread throughout that area within the notice period referred to above, 12 men were in

1080s; his son, Count Robert II, took part in the First Crusade. Caffaro's version of the origins of the First Crusade is discussed in detail in the Introduction above, pp. 30–32.

⁴ A bezant was a Byzantine gold or silver coin, broadly equivalent to a *solidus* (see p. 48 above).

⁵ Bellomo, *A servizio di Dio*, pp. 62–74, cites this episode, closely paralleled in the late thirteenth-century Spanish epic, *Gran conquista de Ultramar*, with other narrative and linguistic elements in Caffaro's account of the origins of the First Crusade, as persuasive evidence that his account draws on the epic poetic tradition.

⁶ Saint-Gilles was the comital seat of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse. Raymond had been suggested as one of Pope Gregory VII's '*fideles sancti Petri*' (vassals of St Peter), whom he proposed would assist the Byzantine Empire in the 1070s. Raymond had certainly met Pope Urban II at Le Puy in August prior to the Council of Clermont and almost certainly committed himself to the crusade. Saint-Gilles is located 10 miles west of Arles near the mouth of the River Rhône. See also J.H. Hill and L.L. Hill, *Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse* (Syracuse, NY, 1962), pp. 3–31.

⁷ '*servitio Dei*'; this phrase contains the dual elements of religious duty, and of the military allegiance due of a vassal to his lord. The same phrase is used a few lines earlier to describe the religious duty to complete the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Le Puy (Le Puy-en-Velay) is located in the Auvergne region of central-southern France. It was one of

the Church of the Blessed Mary in Le Puy wanting to discuss their duty to God. They debated for three days how they could make the journey to Jerusalem. It happened during the night of the third day that the Angel Gabriel came in a dream to one of the 12, named Bartholomew, and said: 'Bartholomew, arise!' He said, 'What are you, lord?' 'I am the angel of the Lord, and the Lord's wish is that His Sepulchre be freed from servitude to the Saracens; so receive this cross on your right shoulder, go first thing in the morning with your companions to the bishop of Le Puy, show him this cross which I have made for you, and tell him to send his representative with you to Pope Urban, [urging him] to come to this area without delay, and to instruct the people [to make] the journey to Jerusalem in remission of their sins.' All this was done. **p. 101**

Hearing of the angelic vision, the pope undertook the journey without hesitation and arrived in Le Puy.⁸ There a great crowd gathered of noble men, princes, counts and dukes, and of Christians of every estate, rich and poor, high and low, and the pope preached to them that the journey to the [Holy] Sepulchre was the route to remission of all their sins. And when the pope had finished preaching, everyone, both high and low, humbly accepted the cross of the Lord on their shoulder from the pope's hand. Among the nobility were Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, Godfrey, duke of Bouillon, on whose prompting these events had been set in hand, his brother Baldwin,⁹ the count of Flanders,¹⁰ Hugh the Great,¹¹ Bohemond,¹² Tancred,¹³ and many others whose names it would take a long time to list. According to what Caffaro has heard, the number of people was 60,000 fighting men. They captured the city of Nicaea in [June] 1097. For so great was the grace of God to them all that all got as far as Antioch in harmony and humility throughout the whole journey, without any casualties.¹⁴

Before the nobles I have mentioned had left the region where they had received the cross and the papal blessing, the pope at their own request sent two bishops to Genoa, those of Grenoble and Orange. The bishops came to Genoa without delay.

the starting points of the pilgrimage to Santiago di Compostela and also home of Bishop Adhémar, the most important churchman on the First Crusade.

⁸ Urban preached in Le Puy on 15 August 1095 (the Feast of the Assumption); the First Crusade was launched at Clermont on 27 November 1095.

⁹ Count Baldwin of Boulogne, later King Baldwin I of Jerusalem (1100–18).

¹⁰ Count Robert II of Flanders (1093–1111).

¹¹ Count Hugh of Vermandois, brother of King Philip I of France. See M.G. Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy and the Early Crusade Movement: Hugh of Vermandois and Louis VII', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 40 (1996), pp. 25–45.

¹² Bohemond of Taranto, the first prince of Antioch (1098–1111).

¹³ Tancred was Bohemond's nephew. He was prince of Galilee, 1099–1101 and regent of Antioch 1101–1103 and 1104–1112.

¹⁴ The claim that there were no losses before Antioch is clearly false and may serve simply to enable Caffaro to claim the Genoese casualties as the first martyrs of the crusade, as he also does in *LCO*, p. 111 below.

They first had the people of Genoa come en masse to the church of San Siro, and there they explained the pope's mandate regarding the service of God and of the Holy Sepulchre in remission of all sins, just as the pope had preached. **p. 102** They urged them to go to the eastern lands with galleys, on the journey to open the way to the Lord's Sepulchre, and to stand boldly and fight in partnership¹⁵ with the nobles I have mentioned. The bishops made it clear that by so doing they would win the reward of everlasting life. When the sermon was finished and the pope's representatives had been heard, many of the leading Genoese took the cross that day, namely: Anselmo Rascherio, Oberto, son of Lamberto di Marino, Oberto Basso dell' Isola, Ingone Flaono, Dodone Avogrado, Lanfranco Rocca, Pasquale Noscenzio Astore, Guglielmo di Buonsignore, Opizzo Musso, and many more, so numerous that they equipped 12 galleys and one *sandanum* with fighting men of the highest quality, and began the journey to the eastern lands in the month of July [1097].¹⁶

After a few days, they came to the River Orontes and entered it; this is called the harbour of St Symeon, about 10 miles from Antioch.¹⁷ The Frankish knights had reached Antioch and pitched camp before it, one month before the Genoese arrived.¹⁸ When they received news of their arrival Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, hurriedly came with 100 knights from his army to St Symeon where the Genoese were, and on behalf of the leaders and of the whole army repeatedly begged them to come to Antioch and began to press them. 'Brothers and allies in the holy battle', he said, 'Just as you have come to this region in fulfilment of your duty to God and hope to gain from it a reward to bring peace to your souls, we strongly urge you to the utmost of our ability to bear the burden of battle and struggle and to strive side by side with us.' When the Genoese heard the pleas of the leaders through Bohemond, they formed a plan among themselves to send some of their best fighters with the knights to the army. They sent 600. **p. 103** However, 1,000 Turkish horsemen secretly left Antioch, and blocked the way of the Frankish knights and the Genoese. As soon as Bohemond realised that Turkish horsemen in such large numbers were occupying ground above him, he galloped straight to his army with 25 of the Genoese who had mounts, and just as the Turkish horsemen had intercepted him, he called out to all

¹⁵ '*In societate predictorum principum.*'

¹⁶ A marginal note to Manuscript N observes 'I believe that these galleys were the ones which brought the body of John the Baptist [to Genoa].' Jacopo da Varagine, the thirteenth-century Dominican and archbishop of Genoa wrote an account of the acquisition of the relics. See, Jacopo da Varagine, '*Legenda translationis beatissimi Johannis baptistae Genuam*', *Recueil des historiens des croisades, historiens occidentaux*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1885), pp. 229–35.

¹⁷ 'After a few days' is a literal translation of a loose statement by Caffaro. It took several weeks to sail from Genoa to St Symeon, as the next note shows.

¹⁸ The crusaders reached Antioch, c.20 October 1097. This means it took the Genoese about 16 weeks to reach St Symeon, a lengthy journey, albeit one presumably complicated by the unfolding events of the crusade.

the knights in the army. The Frankish knights with Bohemond all swiftly mounted their horses before he dismounted from his, and rapidly took the offensive against the Turks. The Turkish horsemen encircled and fired arrows at the Genoese who had remained with their weapons on the flat ground. They resisted such a large force of horsemen just with their swords and spears, but finally the Turks left them all dead or wounded on the plain. And ahead of the others who started down the road to the Sepulchre, they assumed the crown of martyrdom first, and the angels placed them as God's martyrs on their heavenly thrones as companions to the Maccabees.¹⁹ The Turkish horsemen were delighted at the slaughter of the Genoese martyrs, and made haste to return to Antioch. But Bohemond and the knights who were on their way with him to defend the Genoese killed all the Turks who had killed the Genoese and despatched them to share the punishment of hell with Muhammad. They then returned in triumph to their camp.

Next day they pitched their tents beside the gate of Antioch, and sent word to the other Genoese who had stayed behind beside the river at St Symeon to guard the galleys, or were in fixed positions, not to delay coming to the holy fight to capture the city of Antioch with the weapons they would need. The Genoese listened to the leaders' representatives, then quickly came to Antioch with weapons, tents and everything necessary for war. They pitched their tents alongside those of the leaders, and bravely did daily battle at the city gate with the Saracens from the city, shoulder to shoulder with the knights and foot-soldiers of the Franks. **p. 104** In daily fighting they suffered many misfortunes and every form of deprivation day by day, in respect of food, clothing and everything which the body needs, from the middle of the month of October when the Christians began to besiege Antioch in the year 1097. They endured these same hardships until the month of February [1098]. God, who always comes to the aid of those who believe in Him,²⁰ provided a helpful stratagem to His Christians as they suffered these privations, as follows; during Holy Week²¹ 70 Christian knights with plentiful infantry arrived at the Iron Bridge, which is 8 miles from Antioch. A force of 3,000 Turkish knights with a large force of foot-soldiers had come out of Antioch and pitched camp beside the Iron Bridge to attack the Christians. These Christian knights courageously captured 500 prime horses and many valuable garments around the Turkish camp, without any attempt at defence by the Turks, and launched an attack on the Saracens on Good Friday [26 March 1098]. When evening came the Saracens were shocked and terrified, and leaving their tents behind they fled into the city. The Christians collected together the tents and everything the Saracens had abandoned, and returned to the army in good heart. The Turkish horsemen who had fled back into

¹⁹ On the Maccabees as models and moral precursors of the crusaders, see Introduction, n. 115, p. 32.

²⁰ '*Deus, qui semper fidelibus suis subvenire solet*', Fulcher, p. 488, trans. p. 182 uses very similar language in a different context: '*Gloriatus est igitur Deus, qui suis semper subvenit fidelibus*', 'Thus glorified was God, who always comes to the aid of the faithful'.

²¹ Holy Week is the week before Easter.

Antioch did the same as all the others who were inside, in that after this they were reluctant to fight with the Christians outside the city.²²

Meanwhile it came about that two Turkish men, who were brothers, and who were in charge of guarding two towers of the city [walls] called ‘the Sisters’, were moved by the Holy Spirit and indicated unambiguously to Bohemond that they were becoming Christians and would surrender the towers.²³ **p. 105** Thereupon Bohemond summoned the leaders of the army to a meeting, and said to them all: ‘I am revealing a certain secret message. If you are willing to give me Antioch to keep, thanks to God’s mercy we have hopes of having it in our power with no [further] delay.’ They all answered immediately, ‘We grant it to you and we confirm our offer.’ Bohemond had the men who had promised to hand over the two towers come in secret to the leaders’ tents. They came straight away, and were immediately baptised as Christians by the bishop of Le Puy.²⁴ They received many valuable gifts from all the leaders, costly garments and many silver utensils, and were called ‘the new Christians’. They arranged one night for Bohemond and 100 armed men to climb up the two towers. Early next morning all who had climbed the towers came down from them and endlessly chanted ‘*Kyrie eleison!* *Kyrie eleison!*’ repeatedly and loudly through the city, until the Saracens in the city were shocked and terrified at hearing these voices of Christ. Some fled outside the city, some climbed up to Carbuntium, abandoning the city to the Christians.²⁵ The Christians, who occupied positions outside at the city gate, killed almost all the Saracens who came out of the city. Those who entered the city,²⁶ together with others who came down from the towers at the same time, collectively occupied and took possession of the houses in the city and everything that was inside. Those Turks who had climbed up to Carbuntium together with others who served as the garrison often came half way down the mountain from Carbuntium and engaged with the Christians. The Genoese Christians, together with the French knights, wounded and killed many Saracens.²⁷

²² These events happened shortly after the Christian victory at the Lake Battle of February 1098; see France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 245–51. A similar, if seemingly larger, engagement to the one described here by Caffaro took place in early March 1098; it is also possible that the author has either made a slight chronological slip here or conflated these events; *idem.*, pp. 253–54.

²³ The identity of these individuals is discussed in the Introduction, p. 33, and n. 116 above.

²⁴ Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, the senior churchman on the First Crusade.

²⁵ *Carbuntium* was evidently the citadel, though the name appears only here. Its remains can still be seen; also clearly visible are substantial traces of the walls behind Antioch (now Antakya) and of the Iron Gate.

²⁶ Although the MSS read ‘*civitate*’, the context requires ‘*civitatem*’.

²⁷ The crusaders captured Antioch on 3 June 1098, see France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 258–68.

p. 106 Fifteen days after the capture of Antioch, Kerbogha prince of all the Turks in Persia, arrived at Antioch and began to besiege it.²⁸ Then after a few days his constable Vermilio Leo came to Antioch on the instructions of the prince himself.²⁹ With him came 100,000 Turks with their women and children, and with a great deal of silver and gold and valuable garments and every kind of grazing animal, namely horses, cattle, he-goats, rams and camels. They pitched their tents close to Antioch, and their camp spread for ten miles. When the Christians inside the city realised that an army comprising such a huge number of Turks was besieging them on all sides, and the shortage of food for men and horses was so acute for them that you had to pay 20 *solidi* of Poitiers for an ass's head, they were terrified and distressed by fear, and all prayed to God to relieve their tribulations. The bishops and the excellent clergy who were with them preached sermons to them all. Moreover, the bishop of Le Puy, speaking on behalf of all the other bishops and priests began his sermon as follows: 'Brothers and soldiers of God, who in response to angel messengers sent by God, and through the agency of the worthy and excellent man Bartholomew who received the cross on his shoulder from the angel and revealed to all his angelic vision, have on the instructions³⁰ of Pope Urban set out upon this journey for the remission of your sins and have got as far as this region, do not tremble in fear, because God never ceases to fulfil what he has promised to those who believe in him. So we instruct you all to spend three days in fasting and prayer, and when those three days have been completed, let us with God helping us boldly go out to battle against His enemies.' They all immediately started to spend their time in fasting and prayer, and engaged in fighting to protect the walls and towers all around the city. The Turks daily approached the walls, and jeered at the Christians, saying: **p. 107** 'Why are you weakening your bodies by hunger and nakedness by eating the flesh of horses and asses on which dogs and birds live, but human beings do not?' And they brought white loaves in their hands, eating them and calling: 'Give us back our city and believe in our God. Then you will be our friends, and we will give you gold and

²⁸ Caffaro spells this '*Corbonam*', close to the '*Corbaran*' of the Old French *Chanson d'Antioche*, see the references gathered in *The Chanson d'Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, tr. S.B. Edgington and C. Sweetenham, Crusade Texts in Translation 22 (Farnham, 2011), p. 379. Kerbogha was atabeg of Mosul from 1095–1102. See Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh*, Part 1, tr. D.S. Richards, Crusade Texts in Translation 13 (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 15–17; T. El-Azhari, *The Saljuqs of Syria during the Crusades, 463–459 A.H./1070–1154 A.D.* (Berlin, 1997), pp. 95–99. He features prominently in all the First Crusade narratives.

²⁹ This '*Vermilio Leo*' is named '*Rossilion*' in AA, pp. 326–27. The 'Red Lion' also appears several times in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, see the references assembled in *The Chanson d'Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, pp. 391–92. Manuscript N has '*Humilio Leo*'.

³⁰ 'Instructions' follows Bellomo's reading '*iussionem*', preferable to Belgrano's '*visionem*'.

silver and everything you need. But if you don't comply, we shall kill you all.' The Christians replied: 'Silence, you presumptuous dogs, since our God is great and merciful, and will cast you under our heel!'

All the Christian leaders, who were taken up with fasting and prayers, sent Peter the Hermit and a certain priest as messengers to Kerbogah telling him to leave the area, which was indeed the land of St Peter, with his whole army. The messengers arrived without delay, and delivered their message as the leaders had instructed. Kerbogah replied to them: 'You are talking rubbish and lies. You have come from far-away lands, and stolen our land from our people by treachery. Tell your masters therefore to hand back our land, and we will allow them to return unharmed.' After they had said and heard much, the messengers finally wanted to confirm one thing, whether Kerbogah was willing to make an arrangement whereby five Christians would engage in combat with five Saracens, and the city of Antioch would be ceded by either side to the winners. Under no condition would Kerbogah agree to follow this course.³¹

The messengers gave a full account of everything, verbatim, to the bishops and leaders. The bishops and leaders, when they had heard the response of the Turks, accepted the following advice from the bishops: to spend the whole of that day in prayer, beseeching God to open his ears to their prayers and in his mercy reveal to them a safe way of going into battle against their enemies. When they had completed their prayers, and the next night came, the Apostle Peter came in a dream to Peter the Hermit, and told him to call all the bishops and leaders together the next day and reveal this vision to them all; that it was God's will that they begin to dig in his church [St Peter's]. p. 108 They should dig a very deep pit, and piously take up the Lance by which Christ was wounded in the side on the cross, and go unhesitatingly with the lance into battle against the Turks. And so it came to pass. That very next day, just as Peter the Hermit had said, they found the Lance of Christ, and raised it with great reverence. When evening came, they all put all the wheat or barley they possessed in a common pool, and from it gave enough to eat to all the horses, so that they would go stronger into battle. When day came, they celebrated masses and piously took up the Lord's body³². Then they designated seven battalions of knights in the following way: Count Raymond would go into battle on one flank with his battalion and two other battalions of the leading knights. On the other flank Duke Godfrey would fight the Turks with his own battalion and two others of the leading knights. The central battalion comprised the bishop of Le Puy with all the priests and clerics in Antioch, carrying the Lance of Christ which had been found; and Bohemond and Tancred followed them with their knights.³³

³¹ For more details on this episode, as well as the subsequent visions and the crusaders' triumph, see Introduction, pp. 33–34.

³² i.e. by eating bread at the mass.

³³ The battle is expertly described by France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 280–96.

The Turks were out in the open, both horsemen and foot-soldiers. Half of them stood armed on one flank, and the other half were stationary on the other flank with their weapons, in a similar state of readiness. There was a large gap between the two contingents of Turks. The Christians came out [of the city] and began to take their battle stations as follows. Count Raymond with his battalions on one flank, and Duke Godfrey with his battalions on the other began to engage courageously with the Turkish knights. But the bishop, marching through the space in the middle with the Lance of Christ and all the clerics, and with Bohemond and Tancred following them fully armed, loudly chanting 'Arise O Lord, be judge in your own cause and come', advanced to the end of this central gap.³⁴ **p. 109** They could see that they were to the rear of the Turks, and looking around they saw a host of armed knights with white armour and many white standards come down from higher up. It is [still] said and was said of them [at the time] that they were angels of the Lord, and when the standards which the white knights were carrying drew near the Lance of Christ, all the knights bowed to the Lance of Christ. When the Turks saw such a large body of knights approaching to their rear, they were terrified and abandoned their weapons and tents, all the gold and silver utensils and valuable fabrics, and everything they had with them. The Christians followed them and went all the way to the Iron Bridge killing and wounding, and they left nearly all the Turks dead on the plain. Returning to Antioch, they gathered together everything the Turks had left on the open ground and all assembled unscathed and granted Antioch to Bohemond, as they had promised. Bohemond gave them [the Genoese] rights³⁵ in Antioch, as is recorded in the register,³⁶ in the year of our Lord 1098, in the month of July.³⁷

From there they sent John the Treasurer as ambassador to the sultan of Babylon, who was called Leuealmeradus, to see if he would offer safe passage and markets to the Frankish knights past the maritime cities and towns all the way to Jerusalem.³⁸ The sultan of Babylon received the Franks' ambassador with ceremony, and gave him generous gifts. And besides he provided a messenger of his own, who instructed all the maritime cities and towns to offer their markets to the Frankish knights. When the Frankish leaders learned from their own ambassador of this diplomatic mission which accorded them such respect, they set out straight away on the journey to Jerusalem. **p. 110** When they reached Jerusalem they held

³⁴ Psalm 82 (Vulgate 81).8, '*Surge Domine, iudica terram/ quoniam hereditabis omnes gentes*'; Psalm 74 (Vulgate 73).22, '*Exsurge Deus, iudica causam tuam*'.

³⁵ '*privilegium*'.

³⁶ i.e. the Genoese archive, by Doria's time the '*Codice diplomatico*'.

³⁷ There is a marginal note, '*scilicet Ianuensibus*' – 'that is, the Genoese'. See also

Documents 1a and b.

³⁸ See Introduction, p. 34 for the context of this diplomacy. This is the only reference in medieval sources to John the Treasurer (*camerarius*). The Fatimid vizier was al-Afdal, 1094–1121, the caliph was al-Musta'li. See Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East*, pp. 45–54.

their ground, laying siege to the city and fighting courageously. They found that all the water cisterns outside the walls had been sabotaged. That is why they carried water daily from the River Jordan.

When they had been besieging the city for one month, behold! The Genoese Guglielmo Embriaco and his brother Primo arrived at Jaffa with two galleys,³⁹ but out of fear of the Saracens of Ascalon could not keep the galleys there. So they broke up the galleys and had transported to Jerusalem all the timbers from them which were needed for siege-engines to capture the city. The Christians were delighted at the arrival of the Genoese, and received them with due honours; they were fully involved in the Christians' planning for capturing the city. The Genoese constructed siege-engines and everything necessary for taking the city.⁴⁰ They captured the whole of it, except for the Tower of David, within 40 days, and killed the Saracens within it.⁴¹ Not wanting to surrender the tower, the Saracens sent [a message] from the Tower of David to the sultan of Babylon to come with his army and take possession of the tower. After 20 days, the Saracens who had sent [messengers] to the Sultan came and handed over the tower to the Christians. This took place in the month of July, during the year of our Lord 1099.

Three days after the tower had been surrendered, the sultan of Babylon arrived at the plains of Ramla under arms, with a large army of knights and an armed body of infantry. The Christians in Jerusalem convened a meeting at this point, and placed the kingdom of Jerusalem in the care and custody of Duke Godfrey, making him lord of the realm and of all the territory around it, and under his command they pressed on without delay to the plains of Ramla to do battle against the Saracens.⁴² **p. 111** Once the battle had started, the Saracens turned tail and abandoned the plain. The Christians followed them, slaughtering them and holding the level ground. They collected up everything the Saracens had left behind on the battle-field, tents and the rest, and all reconvened in Jaffa. There they left Godfrey, whom they had put in charge of the realm. Of those wanting to cross the sea, some arrived at the harbour of Latakia, others reached the harbour of St Symeon, who

³⁹ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, p. 141; tr. p. 119. Raymond reports that six or nine (the MSS vary) ships '*de nostris*'/'of our own' put into Jaffa. He does not specify that they are Genoese but later refers to both Guglielmo Embriaco and 'Genoese' ships, confirming that they were broken up to build siege-engines, p. 147, tr. p. 125.

⁴⁰ For an account of the capture of Jerusalem, see France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 334–56 and Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare*, pp. 47–63.

⁴¹ Actually 37 days, 9 June–15 July 1099.

⁴² '*Regnum*' is translated 'realm' in this context because Godfrey did not use the title of king. See A.V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 63–77. See also M. Brett, 'The Battles of Ramla (1099–1105)', in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, eds U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (Leuven, 1995), pp. 17–37.

then embarked on their ships and made the passage. Many stayed in the eastern lands. Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles went to Constantinople.⁴³

The Genoese, Guglielmo Embriaco and his brother Primo (who had brought two galleys to Jaffa and made from their timbers the siege-engines with the help of which the city of Jerusalem had been captured), seized huge treasure of gold, silver and gemstones from the sultan of Babylon, when he was defeated by the army of the Franks and abandoned the battlefield. These brothers crossed the sea with all the treasure they had captured in one galley which they bought, and arrived in Genoa on Christmas Eve. There they delivered a letter from the court in Jerusalem, that is to say from the Patriarch Daimbert and Godfrey, lord of the realm of Jerusalem, about the capture of Jerusalem and about the assistance needed⁴⁴.

When the Genoese heard the [contents of the] letter alerting them to the need for help regarding the Sepulchre of the Lord, they immediately cast aside the wars and feuds which were current amongst them, to such a degree that they had been in a state of disharmony and without consuls for a year and a half.⁴⁵ **p. 112** They put aside their weapons, and so many of them took the cross that they gallantly took 26 galleys and four sailing ships [*naves*] loaded with pilgrims to the port of Latakia in the service of God and of the Holy Sepulchre. The Genoese sent the letter from Jerusalem I have mentioned throughout the cities and towns of Lombardy. As a result the men of Lombardy, clerics and laymen, the bishop of Milan and the count of Biandrate, together with many counts and marquesses, reached Constantinople with a large army of knights and foot-soldiers.⁴⁶ There they found Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles with the Lance of Christ, and with him they began the journey to Jerusalem taking the route which the leaders of the Franks who had captured Antioch had been unwilling to take. The Turks of Khurasan blocked their way, and the two sides joined battle.⁴⁷ Finally the Christians, through

⁴³ Raymond's visit to Constantinople was in the early summer of 1100 trying to get Emperor Alexios to get help and to recognise his legal right to conquer Tripoli, Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse*, p. 147.

⁴⁴ See H. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes* (Innsbruck, 1901), no. 18, pp. 167–74, translated in *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th-13th Centuries*, ed. and trans. M.C. Barber and K. Bate, *Crusade Texts in Translation* 18 (Farnham, 2010), no. 9, pp. 33–37.

⁴⁵ See Caffaro, 'Annals', p. 50 above, where he dates the expedition's arrival at Jerusalem on 1 August 1100, 18 months after formation of the *compagnia* and election of consuls. Caffaro says in the 'Annals' that there were six *naves*. Both passages refer to 26 galleys.

⁴⁶ This is the expedition known as the 1101 Crusade. See the overview in J.L. Cate, 'The Crusade of 1101', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K.M. Setton (Madison, WI, 1969–85), vol. 1, pp. 343–67.

⁴⁷ For Khurasan ('*Corriçana*'), a province of north-eastern Iran, north-western Afghanistan that came to form the eastern part of the Seljuk Empire, see A.V. Murray, 'Coroscan: Homeland of the Saracens in the *chansons de geste* and the Historiography of the Crusades', *Aspects de l'épopée romane: mentalités, idéologies, intertextualités*, eds H. Van Dijk and W. Noomen (Groningen, 1995), pp. 177–84.

their own foolishness, were almost all killed or wounded, and they abandoned the battlefield and the Lance of Christ. Those who escaped returned to Constantinople with Count Raymond. The Genoese had arrived at the port of Latakia and spent the whole winter there. They learned that Godfrey, lord of the realm of Jerusalem had died, and that Bohemond, lord of Antioch, was the captive of the Khurasan Turks. **p. 113** When the Genoese found the eastern lands like a widow, without their king and prince, they formed a plan with Maurizio, bishop of Porto⁴⁸ and legate of the Roman *curia*, and sent messengers to the city of Edessa, which Baldwin, brother of Duke Godfrey had captured by his own efforts, to the effect that he should come to them. He came straightaway, and following a request from the [Genoese] consuls and the legate of the Roman *curia*, they made Baldwin king of Jerusalem and Tancred, Bohemond's nephew by his sister, prince of Antioch, as this present document by Caffaro tells us.⁴⁹ **p. 114** He granted them and confirmed the concession which they had received from Bohemond son of Robert Guiscard, lord of Antioch.⁵⁰ When summer came, they went to Jerusalem with their galleys and sailing ships, and bravely did everything as recounted in this book of Caffaro.⁵¹

After the capture of Antioch, the Franks performed all the deeds as recorded in the foregoing narrative by Caffaro. Because the names of the maritime cities and towns from Antioch to Jaffa and Ascalon are not recorded, we need to rely on the memory of Caffaro for their names, the distances in miles from one city to another, and [for details of] who captured them and when.⁵² So let it be known to all that it is reckoned to be 60 miles from Antioch to Latakia, a large city, both long and broad. At the time of the capture of Antioch it had been depopulated, except for the episcopal church where the clergy remained.⁵³ At that time the Greeks, under Alexios the Byzantine emperor, held the city with two forts above it and two

⁴⁸ See p. 50 n. 8 above for this individual. This section is similar in content to that of the 'Annals', p. 50 above.

⁴⁹ See Belgrano, vol. 11, p. 113 n. 2; for a marginal note '*qui privilegium [postea] concessit Ianuensibus in Iherusalem et in Iopem, et terciam partem Arçufri, et tertiam partem Babilonie, anni Domini MCV*'. The words '*in registro*' which follow in Manuscript N have also been deleted, although this entire interpolation, which signals the controversial grant of lands and privileges to the Genoese is included in the 'Recueil'

⁵⁰ See **Document 1c**,

⁵¹ The reference has been taken to be to Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 50ff, but can equally well be read as referring to subsequent chapters of Caffaro, *LCO*.

⁵² This mainly geographical section fits oddly into the narrative but none of the editions finds palaeographical evidence for regarding it as an interpolation. See E. Bellomo, 'Sapere nautico e geografi a sacra alle radici dei portolani medievali', *Dio, il mare e gli uomini* 'Quarderni di storia religiosa', 15 (2008), pp. 215–41, for a perceptive view of Caffaro's practical seafaring knowledge as a paradigm for subsequent medieval maritime guides.

⁵³ This passage '*In tempore enim captionis Antiochie arma manebat*' is corrupt. A gloss to N reads '*id est deserta*'. The 'Recueil' text persuasively reads '*erema*'. See France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 210–20 for the most recent attempt to interpret the evidence on the shifting occupation of Latakia. It seems highly likely that crusader fleets took possession of the harbour

towers by the entrance to the harbour. There was one governor who controlled the island of Cyprus. He was called Filocarius, and had 20 galleys⁵⁴ with many knights and vassals there [in Latakia].⁵⁵ **p. 115** It is 10 miles from Latakia to Jableh, which was held by the Saracens. And it is said to be 30 miles from Jableh to Tartus, which the Saracens held.⁵⁶ Halfway between these two cities there were and still are two very small cities by the sea, one called Banyas, the other Khrab Marqiya.⁵⁷ The Greeks of Latakia held Khrab Marqiya, and the Saracens held Banyas. The cities were 8 miles apart.

In the gap between these cities, in practice at the half-way point, there was and still is a castle called Margat, high on a mountain, one mile from the sea, which the Saracens held.⁵⁸ It was so large and massive, and so strong that it could not be captured other than through starvation. But may the truth of how it was taken after the capture of all the other cities and towns be known at the current time, thanks to Caffaro. The lord of this castle inflicted much damage on the Christians. It happened that a Frank, called Renaud le Mazoir, son of another Renaud, constable of the prince of Antioch and lord of Banyas and Khrab Marqiya, had concluded a truce with this Saracen and began to get on with him very well. So well in fact that the Saracen often used to come to Banyas to spend time with the lord of the city. For there was a beautiful bath in the city, and there were lovely apple trees outside it and agreeable places among the gardens adjoining it, where the Saracen would sojourn with him for four days and more at a time, eating and drinking as is the Saracens' custom. Then they would go to the castle I mentioned, and they would spend four or five days together in an abundance of feasts and drinking bouts. **p. 116** When they had engaged in these activities for several days, it came about that one day the Christian arrived at the castle with all his supporters secretly wearing breastplates and [carrying] swords under their clothes. They seized the castle and threw out the Saracen. At which there was great rejoicing throughout the Eastern lands, because this castle was and is the key to the coastal route to Jerusalem. And that was in the year of our Lord 1140.⁵⁹

We should revert to Tartus. From there it is 40 miles to Tripoli, from there 20 miles to Jubayl and from there to Beirut 20 miles by land and 12 miles by sea. From Beirut to Sidon is 20 miles and from Sidon to Tyre [another] 20. It is 20 miles from

before the fall of Antioch, that Latakia was a source of supplies from Byzantine Cyprus and that the Byzantines either took the port from the crusaders or were ceded it by them.

⁵⁴ 'salandrios'.

⁵⁵ Eumathios Philokales, governor of Cyprus.

⁵⁶ *Gibellum major* and *Tortosa*, respectively, both in present-day Syria.

⁵⁷ Vananea and Marachia//Maraclea respectively, both in Syria.

⁵⁸ Now Marqab. For this fine castle, see Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 78–79, 163–79.

⁵⁹ The capture of Margat in 1140 took place long after the other events covered in the *LCO*. Its relevance to the broader security of Frankish control of the region is however clear, and its inclusion wholly consistent with a mid twelfth-century date for composition of this work (see Introduction, p. 35).

Tyre to Acre and 10 from Acre to Haifa. From there to Caesarea is 20 miles, 20 more from there to Arsuf, and another 10 from Arsuf to Jaffa. From Jaffa to Ascalon is 10 miles. Ramla is near Jaffa, 2 miles away. The city of Jerusalem is in the mountains, and from there it is 20 miles to the sea via Jaffa. These given mileages are recorded on Caffaro's authority, since Caffaro frequently marched by land and sailed by sea to Jaffa from Antioch, and, we are told, Caffaro explained that his estimation is of this order, on the basis of his own calculations of all these distances.⁶⁰

Now that the names of the cities and the mileages have been recorded, let the facts be known through Caffaro of how, by whom and when these cities were captured. It is true that the city of Jerusalem was captured by the army of the Franks I have described, with certain Genoese, namely Guglielmo Embriaco and Primo his brother and many other warriors from Genoa, who built siege-engines there, and through whose inventiveness the city was captured in the month of July 1099, as is recorded in Caffaro's book.⁶¹ **p. 117**

However disparate the dates might have been when the foregoing cities were captured, let the sequence begin with the earliest captures. With King Baldwin, the Genoese seized Caesarea and Arsuf in battle in the month of July in the year of our Lord 1101.⁶² **p. 118** When the Genoese reached Byzantine territory⁶³ on their way back to Genoa after capturing these two cities, they encountered a fleet of the Byzantine emperor off Ithaca, of which Cotromil was admiral, with 60 galleys in his fleet.⁶⁴ The Genoese captured seven of these, which they set on

⁶⁰ These distances are very approximate. Belgrano, offers the correct mileages in notes on pp. 115–16 of his text.

⁶¹ See Caffaro, *LCO*, p. 116 above.

⁶² Above '*Cesariam*' in the text a gloss reads, 'This place used to be called *Turris Stratonis*, but Herod, king of Judaea, later called it Caesarea in honour of Caesar Augustus. He also built a temple of amazing beauty in the town, in which was found a dish made of emerald which the commune of Genoa now possesses. The commune wanted this dish as [part of] the one-third share of the city and the chattels in it which accrued to them as a result of capturing Caesarea.' William of Tyre, p. 471, trans. vol. 2, p. 437, reports, more circumspectly, 'In this same place of prayer [the temple] a green-coloured vessel was found which the Genoese, thinking it was made of emerald, accepted in the distribution [of booty] as the equivalent of a great sum of money, and secured it as a fine adornment for their church. Thus it is their wont to show it off as if it were a miracle, claiming that, as its colour shows, it really is made of emerald'. The episode is also mentioned by the Cistercian writer of the 1230s, Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, who wrote of a '*vas viridissimi coloris*', in his *Chronicon*, *MGHSS* 23.814. This handsome glass dish can still be seen in the Museo del Tesoro at the Cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa. See Belgrano, vol. 11, p. 117, n.3 for further information.

⁶³ '*Romaniam*'.

⁶⁴ '*Cotromil*' is a curious formation, and is implausible as a corruption of '*Landulphus*', who is nevertheless referred to as '*predicto*', 'the aforesaid', seven lines further on. The 'Recueil' editors suggested '*comestabulus*' ('constable'). The Byzantine ships are '*salandrios*'.

fire and abandoned. They began to attack the others with 26 galleys with a view to capturing them by force. When he saw that the Genoese were coming at him with such ferocity, the admiral sent his representative to the Genoese seeking a peace agreement. And, concluding an agreement straight away, they proceeded to the city of Corfu. From there the admiral and the Genoese sent Rainaldo di Rodolfo and Lamberto Gheto as ambassadors with the aforesaid Landulphus to the Emperor Alexios. While they were staying over in the city of Corfu for three days, eight galleys arrived from Genoa, with eight *gorabia* and one large sailing ship with Genoese knights and pilgrims. They stayed at the island of Corfu for two days, and talked to the other Genoese who were on their way from Caesarea about the good fortune which had come their way. They spoke to each other: then the two groups went their separate ways in good heart.

Those who were with the eight galleys and the *gorabia* and the sailing ship, with Mauro di Piazzalunga and other noblemen in the galleys, and Pagano della Volta with many other nobles in the ship, reached Jerusalem and visited the Sepulchre of the Lord. Having completed their visits [to the holy places] they went to Tartus, and captured it after a siege with Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, who had come back to the East from Constantinople. **p. 119** This took place in 1101.⁶⁵ After they had captured the city, a great horde of Turks arrived and started to besiege it, with the result that the Christians inside stayed put and locked the gates, and were in a state of fear. However it happened one night that the grace of God, who does not abandon those who place their hope in Him,⁶⁶ revealed a miracle to the Christians, with the bells pealing spontaneously, and the gates of the city opening by themselves, with the result that the Christians believed that traitors had done this. But once they realised it had been a divine miracle, all the Christians in the city immediately streamed outside to do battle. They wounded and slaughtered the Saracens and strewed the plain with the dead all the way to Tripoli.⁶⁷

The count of Saint-Gilles, who was the victorious commander, then began the siege of Tripoli, and located a fortified settlement near Tripoli about a mile away, which is called *Mons Peregrinus* [Mount Pilgrim] where he built walls and towers and many houses, and many Christians from all around began to make their homes there.⁶⁸ The count attacked the Saracens on a daily basis, day after day, and kept them in a state of great trepidation. It came about that the count subsequently took

⁶⁵ The capture of Tartus is included by Caffaro in the year 1102 in the 'Annals', above, p. 57.

⁶⁶ '*qui non derelinquit sperantes in se*', Cp. Psalms, 34 (Vulgate 33).23, '*non delinquent omnes qui sperant in eum*'.

⁶⁷ Other writers record the capture of Tartus in much briefer terms: see AA, pp. 376–77; Fulcher, pp. 432–35, trans. p. 166.

⁶⁸ Tripoli was to be the centrepiece of Raymond's attempts to carve out a territory in the Levant. On his efforts at Tripoli and the wider political and strategic significance of this, see Barber, *Crusader States*, pp. 85–95. The most detailed study of the county remains: J. Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102–87)* (Paris, 1945).

a wife there who bore him a son named Alphonse.⁶⁹ When he went on crusade the count entrusted his whole territory to an illegitimate son, Bertrand Zavata, because he had no other sons.⁷⁰ **p. 120** After the birth of his son Alphonse and the construction of *Mons Peregrinus*, he persevered with the siege of Tripoli while the Genoese came with the aim of capturing Acre and Jubayl. When they arrived, the count stood four-square with the Genoese until the cities of Acre and Jubayl were captured [1104].⁷¹ After the fall of Jubayl, the count took it for himself, and it was in the territory of Tripoli. He gave one-third to the Genoese and kept two-thirds for himself.⁷² He put his representative⁷³ in charge, and the Genoese appointed Ansaldo Corso as guardian of their one-third.

It is a fact that after the capture of Caesarea and Arsuf [1101], the fleet of Genoese galleys which had captured them was welcomed with great joy on arrival by the rest of the Genoese, as the [returning voyagers] repeatedly proclaimed to their fellow citizens the triumphant victory which had come their way with God's help, and showed off the great wealth and treasures which they had seized there. They again explained in what state they had found the Holy Land, discovering that King Godfrey was dead and that Bohemond was held captive by the Turks of Khurasan; [they told how] in consequence all the Eastern lands were deeply fearful, believing that they were losing towns and territory; and the people living there were overjoyed at the arrival of the Genoese expedition which had arrived at the harbour of Latakia, stayed there throughout the winter, summoned Baldwin from the city of Edessa to Latakia, and implored him to accept the kingdom of Jerusalem. **p. 121** Baldwin did so, as is recorded in what Caffaro has already written. And they installed Tancred as prince in Antioch. Caffaro, who is dictating this account, was there and was an eye-witness.⁷⁴

During their stay through the whole winter, the Genoese did many works to the honour of God in that area. They laid out on the ground 12 marble columns which were still upright in the palace of Judas Maccabaeus, and stowed them together in a ship. These were 15 spans in circumference⁷⁵ and coloured in such a variety of shades, reds and greens and yellows that people gazed at them as if

⁶⁹ Raymond in fact married Elvira, his third wife and the daughter of Alfonso VI of Leon-Castile, in 1094. His son Alphonse Jordan was born to her in Palestine in 1103, and became count of Toulouse in 1112. He took the cross for the Second Crusade and sailed to Acre, but when he reached Caesarea he fell ill and died in the spring of 1148; rumours abounded that he had been poisoned. William of Tyre, p. 756; tr. vol. 2, pp. 181–82.

⁷⁰ Bertrand is probably described as illegitimate because he was the son of Raymond's first marriage, dissolved on the grounds of consanguinity before 1080.

⁷¹ Acre fell on 26 May 1104, Jubayl in the spring of the same year. See Barber, *Crusader States*, p. 87.

⁷² See **Document 3** below, and n. 23, p. 176 below.

⁷³ 'vicemcomitum suum'.

⁷⁴ See 'Annals', p. 50 above.

⁷⁵ 'XV palmi volvebant', a measure of circumference rather than height or radius.

they were looking in a mirror. With the arrival of Easter, they set off for Jerusalem, and events were as is recorded in Caffaro's book. They sent the ship loaded with columns to Genoa, but it lies wrecked in the Gulf of Satalia.⁷⁶

Hearing all this being said by those who had come back from the expedition, the Genoese who had been in Genoa were moved by their duty to God, and so they fitted out 40 galleys and went to the Eastern lands. They captured the city of Acre along with Jubayl, fighting alongside King Baldwin and Count Raymond.⁷⁷ There King Baldwin implemented and confirmed the concessions to the Genoese in the eleventh year of the indiction.⁷⁸ He gave instructions for a copy of these concessions to be inscribed in letters of gold on a single stone in an apse of the Sepulchre, and he swore along with 12 senior members of his court to maintain the concessions intact in perpetuity as stated in writing.⁷⁹ **p. 122** That took place in the year 1105.

The Genoese made an agreement with King Baldwin that they would have one street of Acre next to the sea and one garden as representing a third of the city, and they would take 600 bezants annually. In addition they would have a third of the land outside the walls up to a distance of one league. They appointed one representative,⁸⁰ Sigebaldo, a canon of San Lorenzo, who held the concessions and kept them in good order as was laid down in the grant of concession. With this all completed, the Genoese went home in triumph.

Then Count Raymond died at *Mons Peregrinus*,⁸¹ and his relative William Jordan took possession of it and ruled in his place. He sent his herald with a letter to Genoa announcing the death of the count and asking them not to delay sending help to capture the city of Tripoli in the service of God and of the Holy Sepulchre. The knights of the count had taken his son Alphonse, still a boy, to Saint-Gilles, and the inhabitants of the region had sworn to keep all the territory over which Bertrand Zavata, the bastard son of the count, had oversight, loyal to the boy, until he attained his majority. **p. 123** Bertrand moreover left the territory to the boy, and sailed to Genoa in *gorabia* with his knights, to ask the Genoese to convey him across the sea with a fleet of galleys, in the service of God, to capture the city of Tripoli. When they heard his requests and undertakings, and in view of William

⁷⁶ Now the Gulf of Adalia, off Antalya in southern Turkey. On the significance of this episode, see Phillips, 'Caffaro of Genoa and the Motives of the Early Crusaders'.

⁷⁷ See p. 57 above.

⁷⁸ 'Indiction' was a cycle of 15 years, itself un-numbered and therefore of only limited use for fixing dates. The sequence of indictions began in C.E. 312, and an event was typically dated 'in the nth year of the indiction'.

⁷⁹ See **Documents 2a–c** below. The precise location of the inscription in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is unclear, as is the meaning of '*triuna*'. We have treated it as a variant or corruption of '*tribuna*' or 'apse'. For the considerable academic debate that this inscription and the grants therein have generated, see Introduction, pp. 24–26.

⁸⁰ '*vicecomitem*'.

⁸¹ Count Raymond died on 28 February 1105.

Jordan's delegation, the Genoese fitted out 60 galleys and conveyed Bertrand and his knights to Tripoli.⁸² And they made their stand with Bertrand in besieging the city, until they stormed it, through use of many siege-engines, a great deal of effort, and the fighting capability of the bravest warriors. Meanwhile William Jordan was dismayed at the arrival of Bertrand and daily issued prohibitions on Bertrand interfering in the city.⁸³ He held on to *Mons Peregrinus* and the sown fields around the mountain, and sent his messenger to Tancred in Antioch for him to come to his aid so that he could drive Bertrand out of the city. Tancred began to establish a presence with a good many knights, as he had undertaken. Furthermore one day early in the morning, Bertrand's squires were in amongst William Jordan's crops. William jumped straight on to his horse, and as he was charging at the squires, one of them drew an arrow and shot him through the throat; he lay dead in the cornfield. Bertrand was delighted at his death. He took possession of *Mons Peregrinus*, and divided with the Genoese the city of Tripoli outside [the walls] and the land adjacent to it, on the basis that he gave to the Genoese one-third of the city inside and outside the walls and the two-thirds of Jubayl which Count Raymond his father had kept for himself, and confirmed [the grant] by oath by whatever means [the Genoese] wanted [that he was making over to them the concession in the month of July of the year of our Lord 1109]⁸⁴ and the Genoese said that he had poorly observed his commitments in respect of the city of Tripoli.

p. 124 The Genoese held the whole of Jubayl, and they handed over two-thirds to the stewardship of Ugo [I] Embriaco but left the other one-third in the hands of Ansaldo Corso just as he had held it [before]. They appointed their representatives to look after the part of Tripoli which fell to them, and then went to the Lord's Sepulchre to pray. But Bertrand dishonourably expelled the envoys of Genoa from the city, and set aside the oath which he had sworn. The Genoese returned from the Sepulchre, set matters in order in Jubayl in all necessary respects, instructed

⁸² The size of this fleet is reported with reasonable consistency by the sources: 70 vessels for Fulcher pp. 526–28, trans. p. 194; 80 for Albert of Aachen, AA (plus 4,000 troops), pp. 776–77; 60 for Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicles of the Crusades*, p. 88. The same author provides a detailed account of the siege at idem, pp. 88–91.

⁸³ Barber, *Crusader States*, p. 91, neatly outlines these tensions between Bertrand and William Jordan and the important role played by King Baldwin I in making a settlement between them giving Bertrand the inheritance except for Tartus and Arqa which were to go to William. As Caffaro soon relates, such a deal was soon overtaken by events. Fulcher, pp. 526–33, trans. pp. 193–95 relates the struggle, as does Albert of Aachen, AA, pp. 776–87.

⁸⁴ See **Document 3**. The decree is dated 26 July 1109. There is a lacuna in the manuscript here. Belgrano concurs with Pertz and Riant, editors respectively of the *MGH* and 'Recueil' texts, in the view that the date is erased and not legible. Belgrano, p. 123, n.4, states that Ansaldo, *Atti Soc Lig*, 1, p. 41 has added '*conficere eis privilegium ano Domini MCVIII mense iulii*' to his transcription. 'We do not know on what authority'.

Ugo and Ansaldo to exercise their guardianship over the city wisely, and returned triumphantly to Genoa. The capture of Tripoli took place in 1109 [26 June].⁸⁵

⁸⁵ See Belgrano, p. 124, n. 4. Caffaro makes no mention in the *Liberatio* of the further Genoese conquests of Jableh, Beirut, Mamistra or Sidon, evidence for the view that the work was unfinished. Fulcher of Chartres commented that King Baldwin I had, at the siege of Tripoli, ‘begged the Genoese to help him capture Ascalon, Beirut and also Sidon during that year’, p. 531, trans., p. 195. The first of these was not taken until 1153, but the Genoese were involved in the fall of Beirut (13 May 1110), which was followed by some undisciplined looting by the ‘common folk of the Genoese’, Fulcher, pp. 532–34, trans. pp. 195–96. Sidon fell in November after several weeks’ siege (also assisted by King Sigurd of Norway’s crusaders), but this place was taken in a more orderly fashion. *Ibid.*, pp. 805–809. See also Ibn al-Qalanisi, pp. 99–101, 106–108.

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The History of the Capture of Almería and Tortosa¹

The text we have translated is that in ed. L. Belgrano, ‘Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de’ suoi continuatori’, *Fonti per la storia d’Italia*, 118 vols (Rome, 1887–1993), vols 11–14 bis (1890–1901), vol. 11, pp. 77–94. *Page numbers refer to this text.*

p. 79 Virtually the whole world knows that over a long period in the past Christians were taken captive far and wide by the Saracens of Almería on land and at sea in many parts of the world; some were killed, many were cast into prison, and they were subjected to the agony of many different forms of martyrdom and torture.² As a result of these sufferings many, for fear of torture, used to renounce the law of God and invoke the diabolical name of Muhammad. This is why, at the end of the day, God did not neglect to punish the shedding of so much blood. The Genoese, counselled and called upon by God through the Apostolic See,³ swore in [those who would fight in] an army against the Saracens of Almería,

¹ We have been greatly assisted at various points in our translation of ‘*Ystoria captionis Almerie et Turtuose*’ by the translations already published; namely, in Italian by M. Montesano in *Caffaro: Storia della presa di Almería e Tortosa* (Genoa, 2002), and in English by J.B. Williams, as an appendix to ‘The Making of a Crusade: The Genoese anti-Muslim Attacks in Spain, 1146–1148’, pp. 48–53. Also helpful was G.A. Loud’s translation available as work in progress at: www.leeds.ac.uk/history/weblearning/MedievalHistoryTextCentre/medievalTexts.htm, and published in part in K. Jansen, J. Drell and F. Andrews, eds, *Medieval Italy: Texts in Translation* (Philadelphia, 2009), pp. 117–21. The Spanish annotated text by A.U. Arteta, *De captione Almerie et Tortuose* (Valencia, 1973) follows Belgrano. Arteta’s footnotes usefully provide more details on the movements of the Spanish protagonists, and of corroborative references from Spanish sources.

² The language, e.g. ‘*diversis martiriis et penis cruciebantur*’ points towards this as a crusading expedition. Caffaro suggests that Muslim pirates who imprisoned, tortured and attempted the forced conversion of Christians provoked the wrath of God and provided clear religious motives for this campaign. Interestingly, the contemporary ‘Poem of Almería’, the main Iberian source for this campaign also mentioned the threat of piracy from Almería as a motive for the expedition. See: *Prefatio de Almaria*, in *Chronica Hispania Saeculi XII*, ed. J. Gil, *Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis*, 71/1 (Turnhout, 1990), pp. 253–67, trans. *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, tr. S. Barton and R.A. Fletcher (Manchester, 2000), pp. 250–63. There was, of course, also commercial benefit to be derived from taking this city: Garí, ‘Why Almería?’, pp. 211–31.

³ The papacy of Eugenius III (1145–53). On this papal appeal, see Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 255–56. The background to this campaign was also, of course, the Genoese

and [the members of] a *parlamentum*, at which six consuls *pro comuni* and four *de placitis* were chosen from the more prominent citizens, through whose judgment and leadership the city and its army would be governed at that time.⁴ So great was the esteem for their integrity, and for the elegance of the way they expressed themselves in words, that the nation could be ruled by their judgment and leadership across the whole spectrum of government. Their names were as follows: Oberto Torre, Filippo di Piazzalunga, Baldovino and Ansaldo Doria. **p. 80** These four, together with two of the consuls *de placitis*, Ingo and Ansaldo Pizo, went to lead the army; and Ogerio di Guido and Guglielmo Piccamiglio, with the consuls *de placitis* Oberto Cancelliere and Ugo Giudice stayed behind to govern the city.⁵ The aforesaid consuls summoned a *parlamentum* as soon as they had been elected, at which they ordered all who were in dispute to swear commitments to peace. Thanks to the intervention of the Holy Spirit, all who were engaged in feuds forthwith confirmed their peaceful intentions as the consuls and the archbishop wished, and embraced each other. Women and men⁶ were highly delighted at this, to the extent that with one voice they urged the consuls to raise funding for the army.

So heeding God's warning and having ascertained the will of the people, the consuls instructed every man within the jurisdiction of Genoa, under the obligation of his oath,⁷ to make sure he made haste to procure everything he needed for the expedition; he should assemble plentiful food stocks, without stinting, substantial numbers of weapons, handsome tents, attractive and worthy battle standards, and everything needed for such an undertaking, such as siege towers, siege-engines, and all kinds of devices to assist in capturing the city. When they had heard the consuls' instructions, the city's warriors⁸ equipped themselves so well with weapons and tents and everything they needed that for the previous thousand years such great splendour and nobility in a single army had been neither witnessed nor

expedition of 1146, led by Caffaro himself and described in the 'Annals' above, pp. 69–70, as well as the agreement with Alfonso VII of León-Castile, see **Document 5a**, below. Note also B.F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII, 1126–1157* (Philadelphia, PA, 1998), pp. 92–101.

⁴ '*Ianuenses ... exercitum supra Sarracenos Almerie iurare fecerunt, et parlamentum...*' Other translators interpret this as meaning that the Genoese swore to send an army and convened a *parlamentum*. We have stuck to the literal meaning of the Latin in assuming the administration of an oath to the potential members of both the army and the *parlamentum*. There were two *parlamenta*, one to appoint consuls who were then able to convene a second to approve measures for war.

⁵ Caffaro lists the consuls for 1147 in the 'Annals', p. 70 above. They are identical except that Filippo is listed as Filippo di Lamberto.

⁶ Significantly, and unusually, Caffaro mentions women first as approving civic harmony.

⁷ Read '*sacramenti*' with Bellomo, for '*sacramento*' in the MSS and Belgrano.

⁸ '*bellatores*', 'warriors'; another conscious hint of crusading language.

heard of. When, as we have said, everything was ready, they began their voyage with 63 galleys and 163 other ships. All preparations were made and the voyage set in hand in less than five months.⁹

When they arrived at Mahón,¹⁰ the consul Baldovino set off with 15 galleys for Almería as an advance guard, to await the arrival of the whole expeditionary force. The Genoese did not make their expected rendezvous with the king when Baldovino arrived at Cabo de Gata, and they waited there for a month in a state of great apprehension because they were outside the harbour.¹¹ **p. 81** They sent Ottone di Buonvillano as an ambassador to the king, who was in Baeza, and had given permission to his army to withdraw. The king had no more than 400 knights and 1,000 foot-soldiers with him. When he heard that the Genoese fleet had arrived, he regretted having given his knights permission to disband. He said he was on his way but [in fact] delayed.¹² Meanwhile the Saracens of Almería were cheered [by this] and made frequent sorties outside the city, trying to engage in battle with the 15 galleys. Baldovino the consul who was with the galleys on forward guard, sent messages to his colleagues, that is Oberto Torre, Filippo [Piazzalunga] and Ansaldo Doria, to come to begin hostilities against Almería. His colleagues were unwilling to do this until they had acquired cavalry. Meanwhile the count of Barcelona arrived a naval force large enough for him to bring with him 53 knights with cavalry.¹³ They immediately sent instructions to Baldovino to sail early next morning towards the mosque with his galleys to show that he wanted to engage in battle; the objective was to get the Saracens to come out of the city, since the count would come by land and be at the river with his knights in the early morning, and the 15 galleys would be near the River Lena. One galley would be stationed at the mouth of the Lena; and when the Saracens left the city to fight, this

⁹ Montesano, *Caffaro*, p. 100, n. 2 points out that ‘*iter*’ was commonly used to mean ‘setting off on crusade’. The size of the fleet was comparable to that which attacked Pisa in 1121 and the Northern European fleet that went to Lisbon in 1147, see above, n. 45, p. 59.

¹⁰ Located on the island of Minorca.

¹¹ ‘*non invenientes imperatorem*’. Alfonso VII of León-Castile regarded and referred to himself as emperor of all Spain. We have however consistently translated ‘*imperator*’ as ‘king’ to avoid confusion with the Holy Roman and Byzantine emperors, frequently referred to in other parts of this book; see also Reilly, *Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII*, p. 314; Williams, ‘Making of a Crusade’, p. 49, n. 82.

¹² Reilly, *Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII*, pp. 97–99 explains these moves as being dictated by logistical concerns given the size of Alfonso’s force and the lack of supplies crossing the difficult terrain in the region.

¹³ Ramón Berenguer IV (count of Barcelona, 1131–62). For his subsequent agreement with Genoa to attack Tortosa, see **Document 5c**, below. The text reads ‘*cum tanto navigio venit, quod duxit secum milites cum equitibus LIII*’. Other translations are possible. ‘*Navigium*’ can mean ‘ship’ as well as ‘fleet’, and ‘*cum*’ can mean ‘including’. **Document 5a** demonstrates that the count was expected to bring naval forces.

galley would signal to the knights and 25 galleys.¹⁴ And so it came about. When the Saracens saw the men from the 15 galleys going ashore and looking as if they wanted to fight, they were afraid of a hidden trap. So they sent two knights, one white and one black, who climbed to an elevated point and looked all round. But, unable to see the knights in hiding, the knights signalled with flags to the Saracens to come out from the city and join battle. **p. 82** 40,000 armed men immediately poured out of the city, and engaged with the men from the 15 galleys. The Genoese retreated back on board their galleys and eight of them were killed, though the Genoese held the galleys.¹⁵ Meanwhile the consul Ansaldo Doria on the single guard-ship gave the signal, albeit too late. The 25 galleys and the knights moved at the same time, and finding other galleys regrouping, the 25 stayed together with them. Next, Oberto Torre and Filippo, who were at Cabo de Gata, moved with their whole fleet. These consuls went ahead by sea with 12 galleys, and the knights by land. These 12 galleys joined the others who were at the mosque, and then pushed through to the arsenal. The knights confronted the Saracens who had left the city, and with the help of God prevailing they bravely began to attack the Saracens. The Saracens turned tail in fear of the galleys, and began to flee back to the city, and the knights followed them. Among them was a Genoese knight called Guglielmo Pelle who went faster ahead of the others without the count's permission.¹⁶ He first killed a Saracen in the front rank with his lance, then like a lion in among wild beasts, tearing bodies apart with its claws, he sliced off the Saracens' heads with his sword and slew many more on the shore of Almería. The aforesaid consuls with their men steadfastly made frequent attacks on the Saracens

¹⁴ The topography is uncertain and the details of the battle are confusing. We agree with Montesano and Williams that Caffaro uses '*Lena*' for the River Andarax, which flows into the sea a few miles from Almería. Baldovino's 15 galleys were just up the Andarax, or around its mouth. These ships may have ferried the count's men to hidden positions across the river if they had landed from his ships on the coast, to the north. The galleys then sailed south to the mosque, north of Almería and outside its fortified area, and made aggressive moves to lure the Muslim defenders out of the city. The Muslims were suspicious that so small a force would risk an attack, but were taken in. Ansaldo's single galley, stationed at the river mouth, gave the pre-arranged signal too late to the Catalan knights and a further 25 galleys, as the Saracens marched out in force and forced the Genoese back with casualties into the original 15 galleys. These 25 further galleys could have been Genoese or the count of Barcelona's, lying out of sight along the coast to the north side of the river. They sailed to join the original 15, which were regrouping. The Count's knights set off towards the mosque from their concealed positions. The whole armada under Oberto Torre and Filippo Piazzalunga set off from Cabo de Gata, with an advance force of 12 passing the galleys already in action near the mosque and forcing their way through to the arsenal. The knights pursued the defenders back into the city, whilst soldiers from the fleet slaughtered those who tried to escape through the shallow waters. See Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 258–60; Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare*, pp. 177–79.

¹⁵ '*interfecti fuerunt et tenuerunt*'.

¹⁶ Consul *de comuni*, 1149. See p. 71 above.

from one of the galleys; and those men who were in the galleys by the mosque climbed down on to the land [from their ships] and together with the knights killed more than 5,000 of the Saracens, and left them dead on the beach. The galleys still at sea took up the battle, and even killed the Saracens trying to seek safety in the sea. And since a south-westerly wind had started to blow there, the consuls gave instructions for the men with the galleys and the knights to sail to the harbour of the Lena. They did so and pitched their tents on the land. **p. 83** There they held a *parlamentum* and gave thanks to God for having granted so great a victory. Their deliberations complete, the consuls decided to have the galleys drawn up on the beach at Almería. This done, they gave orders for the siege-engines and towers and mine-shelters¹⁷ to be drawn up. As they were beginning this, the Saracens came out and got close to the galleys, and they did this three times; but they were held off, and with some of them killed they fled [back] to the city. When [the Genoese] had constructed their catapults and siege-towers and mine-shelters, the king arrived with 400 knights and 1,000 foot-soldiers. We immediately brought the siege-tower and the catapults close to the city to more attractive and effective locations.¹⁸ The Saracens were repeatedly repulsed¹⁹ as they made frequent charges, fighting back day and night with fire, weapons and catapults against our siege towers. The Genoese were concerned at these attacks, and constantly forced them back into the city by confronting the Saracens and killing large numbers of them. The Genoese siege-towers captured two towers and destroyed a stretch of the wall 18 paces long. At this the Saracens were greatly alarmed and secretly reached an accommodation with the king's ambassadors, that is to say the count of Urgel and King García,²⁰ whereby the Saracens were to give them 100,000 *marabotini*, and had already paid over a greater sum;²¹ and in consideration the king would withdraw from there and abandon the Genoese. On hearing this news, the Genoese consuls made their decision; and they planned the next day, early in the morning, to fight their way into the city, swiftly and without delay, and with God's help, when morning came on the eve of St Luke's Day,²² they swiftly summoned a *parlamentum*, and organised 12 *compagnie* with 12 standards, with

¹⁷ 'gattas'.

¹⁸ A rare example of the first person.

¹⁹ Read 'victi', with Bellomo, for Belgrano's 'victos'.

²⁰ Ermengol VI, count of Urgel (1102–54), and King García-Ramírez IV of Navarre (1134–50), son-in-law of Alfonso VII of León-Castile.

²¹ The meaning of '*auxies*' is unclear and this appears to be the only use of this word in Latin literature. The text is corrupt. The most convincing – and only – lexicographer's suggestion, and one which would best explain such decisive action by the Genoese is 'more', as a variant of '*amplius*' or '*auctius*'. (O. Prinz and J. Schneider, *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols (Munich, 1967), vol. 1, p. 1289). We have preferred this to Loud's translation as 'hostages', implying a reading of '*hostes*'. The text is doubtful here.

²² 17 October 1147.

1,000 armed men in each *compagnia*.²³ **p. 84** The consuls gave orders as to how they should force their way in. They repeatedly came to the king and to the count of Barcelona begging them to give orders to their men to arm and join the battle to take the city. In response to this, the king turned up just in time, to find the Genoese *compagnie* battle-ready on the flat ground. This was because the consuls had issued orders to the foot-soldiers, when they heard the trumpets sound, to enter the city to do battle, silently and without shouting. They did so, and the horsemen followed them. In a short time, before *terce*,²⁴ with God's help and support, and with much Saracen blood shed by the swords of the Genoese, the whole city was captured as far as the citadel.²⁵ That day 20,000 Saracens were killed, and on one side the city was effectively destroyed. Ten thousand people remained, and 20,000 in the citadel. The Genoese took 1,000 women and children to Genoa. Four days later the Saracens surrendered the citadel and themselves, and paid 30,000 *marabotini* for their safe conduct. From the treasure which was seized, the consuls kept 60,000 *marabotini* worth for the public weal²⁶ and paid the public portion of the debt, that is to say the equivalent of 17,000 *librae*, then had the rest divided up among the [men in the] galleys and other ships. They left the city under the supervision of Ottone di Buonvillano with 1,000 men.²⁷ They held a *parlamentum* and gave instructions for all to depart from the city in the galleys and ships. This duly happened, and they reached Barcelona safely, gloriously triumphant. There they beached the galleys and ships and initiated a new consular term. **p. 85** Two of the consuls, Oberto Torre and Ansaldo Doria, went to Genoa with two galleys, with the authority and at the behest of their colleagues. From the booty they took with them they paid off the public debt, and initiated the new consular term in Genoa.

Since, at Caffaro's instigation,²⁸ events at the capture of Almería are set out for the recollection of future [generations] through this written account, Caffaro di Caschifellone now attempts in the same way, as truth requires, to give a timely account of the feats which led to the victories at Tortosa lest in times to come they be consigned to oblivion.²⁹

²³ '*Compagnia*' retains its meaning of 'sworn group or company'. It is not clear that the *compagnie* were based on the local communities of Genoa. The word may have a purely military meaning in this context.

²⁴ '*Terce*', a canonical hour, around 9 a.m.

²⁵ *Subdam*, translated 'citadel'. See Montesano, *Caffaro: Storia della presa di Almería e Tortosa*, pp. 43–49, for a persuasive linguistic explanation.

²⁶ '*pro communi utilitate*'.

²⁷ **See Document 6.** The final capture of the city is discussed in Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 259–60 and Reilly, *Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII*, pp. 100–101.

²⁸ '*sensu*', this carries also the sense of 'intellectual purpose'.

²⁹ The attack on Tortosa is discussed above in the Introduction, p. 39; Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 261–64; Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare*, pp. 179–82; Reilly,

The truth is as follows. When the Genoese withdrew from Almería, they reached Barcelona with the full expeditionary force, and drew up their galleys and ships on land. And although they had been away from their wives and children and homes for a whole year, they waited there through the winter through their duty to God and to the city of Genoa, so that with the arrival of summer they could sail with less risk to capture the city of Tortosa with all necessary supplies. So they brought timber in from forests far from the city for siege-towers and siege-engines, and by the summer they had everything they needed ready in one location. So that they could increase the number of foot-soldiers, they promptly sent messengers to Genoa for men to come quickly with ships and weapons. When preparations were complete, they began the voyage to Tortosa on the feast of St Peter;³⁰ and on 1 July they entered the river³¹ of Tortosa with the whole expeditionary force.³² They dropped anchor when they had advanced to a distance of 2 miles from the city. **p. 86** Then they held a *parlamentum* with the count and his knights, and at it they chose the men who should carry the standards of the Genoese. They all set off immediately and with a common purpose with the count and a detachment of his knights on a reconnaissance of the positions³³ round the city, to see where and how they [the enemy] were deploying their troops. When they had done their reconnaissance of the positions around the city, they formed a plan amongst themselves for half the Genoese foot-soldiers to be deployed in the lower part of the city by the river with a section of the count's knights. The other half pitched their tents higher up in a place up the mountain called Bagnera, with the count and William of Montpellier.³⁴ The English, together with the Knights Templar and many other foreigners, stationed themselves higher up towards Romelinum, beside the river.³⁵ Meanwhile a section of the Genoese foot-

Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII, pp. 102–103. A broader view of the background and importance of the capture of the city is by N. Jaspert, 'Capta est Dertosa, clavis Christianorum: Tortosa and the Crusades', in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, eds J.P. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), pp. 90–110.

³⁰ 29 June 1148.

³¹ The River Ebro; Tortosa is around 13 miles up-river.

³² See CD, nos 168–69, pp. 210–17.

³³ 'loca'.

³⁴ Count William VI of Montpellier – see n. 88, p. 68 above.

³⁵ 'Romelinum'; see Montesano, *Caffaro*, pp. 40–41, who makes the case for translating as 'the Roman road'. Caffaro's place-names have not been precisely matched with the surrounding topography, and we follow Williams, 'Making of a Crusade', simply treating it as a place-name. On the involvement of the English, presumably after the siege of Lisbon, and their continuing presence in Tortosa, see L. Vilegas-Aristizábal, 'Anglo-Norman Intervention in the Conquest of Tortosa, 1148–1180', *Crusades*, 8 (2009), pp. 63–82; G. Constable, 'A Note on the Route of the Anglo-Flemish Crusaders of 1147', *Speculum*, 28 (1953), pp. 525–26. Templar involvement in the region was a consequence of King Alfonso I of Aragon's will (d.1134) giving them one-third of his kingdom and the subsequent settlement of 1143 with Count Raymond Berenguer IV of Barcelona who

soldiers approached the city fully armed to engage in battle, contrary to the plans of both the consuls and of the rest [of the force]. The Genoese did this to test the military strength of the Saracens. The Saracens promptly joined battle with the Genoese, which continued until terce; there were many dead and wounded on both sides. But the Genoese consuls immediately convened a *parlamentum* as soon as they heard of their warriors' rashness, and there they gave orders to all under their jurisdiction that under sworn oath no one from then on was to start fighting contrary to the agreed plan and without the permission of the consuls. They gave further orders for the siege-towers and siege-engines to be rapidly put in a state of readiness and mobilised adjacent to the city. These orders were carried out. When two siege-towers had been deployed against the city wall, those most courageous men of Genoa and warriors of God³⁶ began to smash down the walls. Battling their way through, they brought siege-towers inside the city, and by dragging one of them through the city, they demolished houses and all the towers as far as the mosque. They brought the other siege-tower up against the citadel, and within a few days by dint of hard fighting they held 40 towers which they had captured and demolished. But the Saracens realised that they could not sustain the fighting against the Genoese outside the citadel, so they all went inside the citadel and began a brave defence of it with their weapons and with siege-engines. **p. 87** Once the Genoese realised that they could not take the citadel from that side of the city with the two siege-towers referred to above, they adopted another stratagem as follows: they would immediately fill the trench, higher up towards Bagnera, which ran between Bagnera and the citadel, with wood, rocks and soil. The breadth of the trench was 84 cubits, and the depth 64 cubits, and because such a task began to seem very onerous and of uncertain merits to many people in the expeditionary force, a debate began among many of them whether it should be put in hand or not. Finally the consuls, having put a stop to all debate, gave orders to fill in the trench and construct a new siege-tower. On hearing the order, everyone, knights and foot-soldiers, rich men and paupers, daily went heavily laden to work on the trench, and they all laboured single-mindedly. When the trench was two-thirds full, the Genoese placed a siege-tower and devices with 300 soldiers standing inside on top of it. The Saracens saw the siege-tower approaching and straight away smashed one corner of the tower by hurling rocks weighing 200 pounds. The Genoese quickly repaired it and hung such thick rope netting on the walls of the tower that they were no longer afraid of the Saracens' volleys of rocks.

While the Genoese were locked in battle with the Saracens, the knights of the count of Barcelona in the meantime abandoned the expeditionary force and left the count himself with only 20 knights, because they had not been paid. The gallant

offered them various concessions in return for renouncing this problematic claim. The Templars, in turn, engaged in military activities against the Muslims. The Hospitallers were also present at Tortosa. A.J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London, 1973), pp. 20–26.

³⁶ Further use of crusading language.

Genoese, mindful of their previous victory at Almería, held a *parlamentum*, and swore that they would not withdraw from Tortosa until they had it in their possession, captured and conquered. Thus day and night they kept up the battle against the Saracens with greater ruthlessness than they usually showed, smashing the walls of the citadel and palace, as well as the houses, with stones from the mangonels. Suddenly, in fear of their lives, the Saracens sent envoys to surrender the city to the consuls of Genoa and the count of Barcelona, but seeking a truce of 40 days, **p. 88** subject to the proviso that they would send ambassadors to the king of Spain³⁷ and all the Spaniards to come and make war on the Genoese; and if they could drive out the Genoese by military means, then they would be victorious and would keep the city. But if they did not come by the specified deadline, they undertook to hand over the city to the Genoese. And by way of guarantee they handed over as hostages to the jurisdiction of the Genoese 100 Muslims from the best families. When the deadline of 40 days had passed, and the Spanish had not come to help Tortosa, the Saracens raised the standards of the Genoese and of the count above the citadel, and unconditionally surrendered the city to the Genoese and the count.

This took place in the month of December in the week celebrating the birth of the Lord, on the eve of St Sylvester 1148.³⁸ At the end of all this, the Genoese took a third and the count two-thirds [of the town and booty].³⁹ Then, victorious over the two cities, Almería and Tortosa, they returned to Genoa with the whole expeditionary force, giving their thanks to God. It was 1149 when they arrived back.

³⁷ The 'king' of Spain was Ibn Mardanish, see **Document 9** below for a subsequent trade deal with the Genoese, as well as Guichard, *Les musulmans de Valence*, vol. 1, pp. 116–117.

³⁸ 30 December, 1148.

³⁹ See the treaty between Genoa and the count, **Document 5c** below. For the development of Tortosa in subsequent years, see Jaspert, '*Capta est Dertosa, clavis Christianorum*', pp. 95–100.

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Extracts from the Genoese ‘Annals’ after Caffaro

We translate extracts from the ‘Annals’ written by Caffaro’s twelfth-century successors which relate to Caffaro himself, the Crusades or to Genoa’s wider relationships with Byzantium, Islam and the Latin East. Most of the narrative, not translated here, records Genoa’s continuous wars with Pisa, the power struggle between successive emperors and popes, and factionalism in Genoa itself. The text we have translated is that in Fonti per la storia d’Italia, 118 vols (Rome, 1887–1993), vols 11 and 12. Page numbers refer to the pagination in these volumes.

Oberto Cancelliere, ‘Annals’: 1164–1173 (vol. 11, pp. 155–261)

Preamble

p. 153 In case the written record which precedes this¹ should be thought by many people to have been a useless effort and a waste of time, let the truth be known from the outset, to ensure that this record is of very considerable value. For it is indeed of great benefit to provide a written record of both the present and the past, especially [one based on the recollections of] people who witnessed and understood events, since if they were not written down, they would be consigned to future oblivion. Caffaro caused to be noted down the events recorded on these pages before you as he witnessed them himself or learnt from others on an authoritative basis. For when someone says ‘How is it possible to believe that it was so, just on the basis of Caffaro’s account about the years.....’²

Here for your inspection starts the book,
For the benefit of men now and in years to come
That chancellor Oberto strove to produce,
Nurturing the purposes of the public good,
And steeped in those great deeds,
That Genoa once achieved.³

¹ i.e. Caffaro, ‘Annals’.

² There is a lacuna in the text here. See Belgrano, p. 153, n.1. Belgrano’s variant readings for this section also suggest that the text is corrupt, though the sense is clear enough.

³ This text of these plodding hexameters is: ‘*Gestarum rerum, quas quondam Ianua gessit, / Ingenti studio quem cancellarius ille / Communis causas adtendens utilitatis / Edidit*

Oberto's Tribute to Caffaro

p. 155 Citizens, since it is clearly right for our city to record in writing the deeds of our consuls year by year, especially those deeds which are recognised to have had their origins in the superlative qualities of our leaders, and so as to make absolutely sure that nothing be left out which appears to contain moral worth; and granted that you are aware that I am sufficiently engaged in both private and public affairs for your deeds not to appear diminished in any way; and that, as you say, it is right to advance your interests by every means; and lest I might seem less committed to the public interest than I once was, or by rejecting the task I should be thought in some way diminished for the same reason as Caffaro was deservedly honoured, I have not wished to show any inclination to shirk the burden of this onerous task. Caffaro was indeed a man with the characteristics of nobility in both his life and his behaviour, abundantly endowed with his distinguished reputation. Through the pages of the preceding written narrative, he brought the spectacle of past events out of obscurity into the open for our attention. Indeed he believed, and often privately reflected, that it would be of greater value for the deeds of men gone by to shine forth by applying himself to his task than that they should pass out of our awareness through someone's inattention or just through there being no mention of them. Caffaro, ripe in years and in understanding, was still keeping a watchful eye on these matters when he died by God's decision in full possession of his faculties in the eighty-sixth year of his age [1166]. **p. 156** No administrative concern⁴ for this major task was accorded to him or indeed any other of the citizens during the three years before Caffaro's passing, whereby that person could have had the facility of a writer or even an hour of time for quiet contemplation, in my opinion because of the excessive disruption which has penetrated our city during that consulate,⁵ with the wickedness of criminals burgeoning and stalking the streets; as you the reader will be able to discover through the true account in the following record written over six consecutive years, and to hear a full account through the written record of one who was at Caffaro's side. The consuls Anselmo Garrio, Ingo Tornello, Ottone di Caffaro, Ruggiero di Maraboto, and Nicola Roza,⁶ exercising their responsibility for the city's interests, and conscious of its future value, approved the continuation to its end of such a laudable project, having carefully studied the reasons for doing so. They pleaded with me, Oberto Cancelliere, despite my protestations, with appeals to my personal friendship and earnest requests, to exert myself most assiduously in taking this small task forward, just as I had served the interests of the state in the past, by recording in more favourable conditions,

Obertus, liber incipit inspiciendus./ Ut profecturus praesentibus atque futuris'. On Oberto himself, see Introduction, p. 3.

⁴ We have read '*cura*' for '*curam*' in the MSS, on grounds of grammar.

⁵ 1164. Marchese della Volta, one of the consuls that year, was murdered at his country villa. See Epstein, pp. 80–82 for the troubles in the city at this time.

⁶ Consuls for 1169.

through dictation [to a scribe] the facts which, through the intervention of fate, the aforesaid Caffaro had been unable to note down; and noting everything briefly in an official memorandum, with both pieces of narrative⁷ carried forward in this single volume in similar styles. I, as was my duty, bowed to their authority, giving a straightforward account of what actions [definitely] took place at which points in time, or what evidence can be adduced for their [likely] occurrence.⁸ For the rest should be told in grander style, and I am not so much passing over them now as storing them up for when it is easier to have them transcribed.

Negotiations with Byzantium:

1164, Embassy to Constantinople

p. 167

During this same consulate Corso di Sigismundo, a consul, was sent as ambassador to the emperor at Constantinople in a finely equipped galley, accompanied by two other representatives, Ansaldo Mallone and Nicola di Rodolfo. This delegation was sent at the request of the emperor who had given instructions that he should pay compensation to our city in compliance with the first treaty between himself and the city of Genoa. But the consul and representatives achieved little through this delegation, even though the emperor received them with all due respect.⁹

1168, Embassy to Constantinople

p. 213

The aforesaid consuls sent Amico di Murta as ambassador to Constantinople to achieve the best results he could.

⁷ i.e. Caffaro's and Oberto's narratives.

⁸ The text here is corrupt. Belgrano, vol. 1, p. 156, n. (g), 'the words are missing from *'qui'* to *'annui'* inclusive'. The general sense is, however, clear. Oberto, with conventional mock modesty, says he is recording the bare official facts of government for the missing six years.

⁹ The purpose of this delegation was to negotiate compensation for the damage done by a Pisan attack in 1162 on the Genoese trading post in Constantinople (See Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 95–96 above). For the treaty see **Document 12** below, of which Oberto Cancelliere had been a signatory.

1170, Byzantine Embassy to Genoa

p. 233

Meanwhile the ambassadors of the emperor of Constantinople, named respectively Kontostephanos, **p. 234** Kastamonitos and Doxapatros,¹⁰ accompanied by Gilberto the imperial interpreter, envoys at that time to the Lord Pope Alexander (in whose name the city of Alessandria had been built and given the same name), sent a message to the consuls, asking them to send them two galleys to Terracina¹¹ in which they could safely travel to our city where they had been sent by the emperor of Constantinople with a large amount of treasure which had been promised to the people of Genoa as part of the agreement recently established between the Genoese and the emperor's ambassador. The consuls immediately gave orders that of the nine galleys which I, Oberto Cancelliere, described to you a little earlier, three should be sent to escort the ambassadors. Boemondo di Odone the consul went to our galleys with Rubaldo Bisaccia on this mission, leaving everything [else] to Oberto di Recalcato, another of the consuls. They sent three of these galleys to Terracina, with which sailed Guglielmo Burone, Simone Doria, Nuvellone, Nicola di Rodolfo, Rubaldo Bisaccia and Oberto Spinola, so that the ambassadors could be more relaxed in their journey to Genoa with no concerns, thanks to the company of such experienced and distinguished men. The aforesaid consuls decided that Trepedicino, himself a Pisan, with two of his own galleys, and the men of Portovenere with the same number, remaining throughout the summer in Portovenere, should conduct continuous operations against the Pisans.¹² They did this in bold style, and captured a Pisan galley on which two consuls were travelling, one currently in office, the other from the previous year, together with other powerful and aristocratic Pisans. They were taken to Genoa and put in gaols with many others, who had been held in captivity for a long period, while the emperor [Manuel]'s ambassadors reached Genoa on a Friday in June bringing with them 56,000 *hyperperi* which, as the gift of the emperor, they attempted to give to our people along with an imperial chrysobull.¹³ **p. 235** Our city was unwilling to accept this money, because our ambassador, Amico di Murta, had not yet returned, and there was uncertainty about what had been promised or concluded between him and the emperor. The wily consuls beguiled them for so long in conversation

¹⁰ See Belgrano, p. 234, n. 1 on the Byzantine ambassadors, Andronikos Kontostephanos, Theodoros Kastamonitos, and Georgios Dyspatos. Manuel I (1143–80) was emperor.

¹¹ Terracina is on the coast and c. 70 miles south-east of Rome.

¹² The career of this remarkable individual is excellently told by E. Salvatori, 'Corsairs' Crews and Cross-Cultural Interactions: The Case of the Pisan Trapellicinus in the Twelfth Century', *Medieval Encounters*, 13 (2007), pp. 32–55.

¹³ See Belgrano, p. 235, n. 1. This probably represents the annual payments by the Byzantines stipulated in the treaty of 1155, in addition to reparations for the damage suffered by the Genoese trading post in Constantinople in 1162. The chrysobull was probably the final version of the treaty.

that ambassador Amico returned, rich and well-pleased with his mission. There was such an obvious disparity both in commitments made and in the words used between what the emperor's ambassadors had said to the consuls and what seemed to be the contents of what they had signed, that genuine common ground could not be found, since it is wholly inappropriate for ambassadors to exceed the limits of their mandate or go beyond their orders on their own responsibility. Our commune therefore preferred to refuse the thousands of *hyperperi* to which I have referred, rather than through a lack of prudence wish upon themselves the possibly unhelpful consequences [of accepting them]. **p. 236** But to avoid any impression in the emperor's court or elsewhere that our city should knowingly cause any insult or injury to his Blessed Majesty, they decided that the same ambassador Amico di Murta should be sent reluctantly back to provide guidance to his Blessed Majesty so that he should in person, drawing on his great experience, publicly confirm in the presence of his Imperial Majesty those terms which seemed to cause an amazing degree of displeasure to his Majesty's ambassadors, and in this way the disparity in the accounts of the ambassadors should be explained and thus mutual undertakings should rightly hold good.¹⁴

1172, Reference to Rejection of Byzantine Blandishments

p. 247

[The Genoese consuls are in dialogue in Genoa with Christian, the archbishop of Mainz and German chancellor, representing Frederick Barbarossa in Italy]¹⁵ Out of respect for his imperial majesty [Frederick] we spurned the gifts of the emperor of Constantinople which were sent to us, all of 28,000 *hyperperi*, and declined all inducements from the kingdom of Sicily, because His Majesty's dignity¹⁶ seemed to be diminished in some way in making an accommodation or treaty with either of them.

1169–70, Embassies to Morocco

p. 228

Meanwhile Grimaldo, an appropriately discreet man, returned safely from his embassy to Morocco with the galley on board which he had made the voyage to Ceuta.¹⁷

¹⁴ Day, *Genoa's Response to Byzantium*, p. 26; Epstein, pp. 72, 84–85.

¹⁵ Christian, archbishop of Mainz. This man had been Frederick's chancellor since 1162 and was consecrated archbishop of Mainz in 1167 which he remained until his death in 1183, Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, p. 246, n. 2.

¹⁶ 'honor'.

¹⁷ Now a Spanish enclave in Morocco.

1170, p. 237

Then Ottone di Caffaro returned in the month of October from an embassy to Morocco.¹⁸

Ottobono Scriba, 'Annals': 1174–96 (vol. 12, pp. 3–66)

Preface

pp. 3–4

It is widely recognised that it is consistent with fairness and accords with justice to preserve the memory of virtuous deeds; but amongst those deeds, the best known are those which relate to the advantage and good standing of the community, to which ends inherently good men should necessarily exert their enthusiasm and their most strenuous efforts. Nothing is more welcome than to observe the enhancement of civic pride,¹⁹ in which the rights of each individual are subsumed into the general good. For whenever public wealth²⁰ is diminished, the substance of individuals is also affected. That is why I, Ottobono Scriba, in imitation of the magnificent and laudable work which Caffaro of happy memory produced in the past, since this task of such merit had been neglected through inactivity, and even though I seem inadequate to the task through the narrowness of my understanding, I have nevertheless committed to memory whatever I could; and I have set it down in writing in this present official record²¹ in the public interest of Genoa and to challenge the spirit of noble men, with the aim of perpetuating its memory forever; and if by chance in the future any question should arise or any doubt be cast on the facts, let the truth be ascertained through this official record, and any doubt dispelled. So I have to the best of my ability briefly listed and noted down joyous successes, victories and exploits, prefaced by the year and indiction²² in which they took place, and the names of the consuls *de comuni* and *de placitis*.²³

¹⁸ Oberto does not tell us what the purpose of these embassies was. The interesting point is that they seem to have become routine.

¹⁹ '*publicum decus*'.

²⁰ '*rei publice*'.

²¹ '*volumen*'.

²² See n. 78, p. 123 above.

²³ On Ottobono Scriba, see Introduction, p. 3 above.

1177, Peace with Saladin*p. 11*

These consuls [for 1177] sent Rosso della Volta as ambassador to Saladin, king of Egypt, with whom he confirmed peace.²⁴ They ruled the city in a state of peace, utmost tranquillity and affluence, and all their undertakings came to a joyous conclusion. During the same consulate the daughter of the king of England came to Genoa, and the subjects of King William of Sicily, whose wife she was, conveyed her with an escort of galleys to him in Sicily.²⁵

1179, Third Lateran Council*p. 13*

[The Genoese delegation] were given a friendly reception and treated with the greatest deference in the court by the pope himself and the cardinals. The Lord Pope confirmed all the concessions which he and his predecessors had granted to the church and city of Genoa; and he revealed to them the remains of the most glorious fore-runner and martyr of Christ, the blessed John the Baptist; and they returned in all-embracing joy to Genoa.²⁶

1180, Death of the Emperor Manuel Komnenos*pp. 14–15*

That year, alas, the Lord Manuel of divine memory, the most blessed emperor of Constantinople died as it pleased God's divine majesty, in the month of September, on the feast day of St Thecla, virgin and martyr,²⁷ according to news brought back

²⁴ See Belgrano and Imperiale, vol. 12, p. 11, n. 2. This is the only known reference. *RRH*, no. 541 notes a Pisan mission in the same year seeking commercial preference from Saladin. As mentioned in the Introduction, above, p. 18, Saladin claimed in 1175 that Genoa, Pisa and Venice were all delivering arms and riches to him, while in 1179 Pope Alexander III legislated against such trade at the Third Lateran Council, see above, p. 16, n. 51. These points seem to affirm, in general terms at least, a positive relationship between the Italian trading cities and Muslim Egypt at this point. Rosso della Volta would become an extremely experienced diplomat, also involved in preparations for the Third Crusade. See 'Annals', pp. 147.

²⁵ Joan, daughter of Henry II, married William II of Sicily in 1177. After his death she married Count Raymond VI of Toulouse in 1196.

²⁶ The full pronouncements of the council can be found at: *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, pp. 211–25. Ottobono omits mention of the legislation referred to in the note above, concerning trade with Muslim powers: see *Decrees*, p. 223.

²⁷ Manuel died on 24 September 1180. St Thecla was a Christian protomartyr associated with the preaching journeys of St Paul in Asia Minor. Thecla is known from the mid-second-century 'Acts of Thecla' and the fifth-century 'Life and Miracles of Thecla'.

by Guglielmo Arnaldo, a noble citizen of Genoa, who arrived from Peyra²⁸ on a ship laden with grain. As a result of Manuel's death, the whole of Christendom suffered utter ruin and loss.²⁹

1186, Embassy to the Emperor Isaac Angelos

p. 21

That year (1186) Guglielmo Tornello was sent to Sardinia on behalf of the commune of Genoa to organise business matters in Sardinia; and Nicola Mallone and Lanfranco Pevere were appointed ambassadors to Isaac, emperor of Constantinople.³⁰

1187, Saladin's Offensive and the Retention of Tyre

pp. 22–24

p. 22 During that consulate (1187), at a time when our city was in a state of complete harmony and tranquillity, Satan raised his head. For Lanfranco, son of Iacopo della Turca, in the grip of an evil spirit, and in company with footpads and retainers, murdered Anglerio de Mari, consul *de comuni*, in the city in front of the house of Bonatia on 16 February. In response to this murder, any number of feuds and conspiracies sprang up in the city of Genoa. The enmities and disputes which had lain buried were reborn, driven by sin.³¹ The aforesaid consuls manfully set about avenging this egregious crime to satisfy the national honour.³² They got together the noblemen of the city and the people, and went in an armed band to arrest those who had committed such a terrible crime. They utterly destroyed their houses and tower and all their possessions, and threw them out of the city, lock,

She was a very popular saint especially among Eastern Christians. See S.F. Johnson, *The 'Life and Miracles of Thecla': a Literary Study* (Washington DC, 2006).

²⁸ Probably Pera, also known as the Galata district where, after the Genoese supported the restoration of the Byzantine Michael VIII Palaeologus in 1261 he granted them an important commercial base. The area is now part of Beyoglu and is opposite the old city over the Golden Horn.

²⁹ For further reading on Manuel's relationships with the Genoese, see Day, *Genoa's Response to Byzantium*. Ottobono offers here an interesting and heartfelt evaluation of Manuel's importance in maintaining Christian power.

³⁰ Isaac II Angelos, emperor of Constantinople 1185–95, 1203–1204. The purpose of this embassy was to negotiate the restoration of trading posts lost in the anti-Latin riots in Constantinople in 1182; the delegation of 1186 was unsuccessful in this. For a description of the riots see William of Tyre, pp. 1020–25; trans. vol. 2, pp. 461–67; for an overview see C.M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204* (Cambridge, MA, 1968), pp. 31–42.

³¹ 'peccatis exigentibus'.

³² 'ad honorem patriae'.

stock and barrel. **p. 23** Furthermore as a consequence of mankind's sinfulness, the noblemen Rubaldo Porcello and Opizzo Lecavelo were murdered in the chapter house on the Eve of St James.³³ As a result rumours, extreme disorder and mutiny were rife in the city.³⁴

This same year, in the month of June between the feast-days of St John the Baptist and of the apostles Peter and Paul, Saladin king of Egypt, with a powerful and very numerous army of Turks and a horde of Saracens, attacked the land of Syria; as a consequence of [the Christians'] sin, he defeated and routed the Templars and (other) Christians in a battle in open country, and captured Jerusalem, Acre and all the other places, except for the city of Tyre.³⁵ Ah, woe, he took the True Cross along with King Guy (who was currently ruling [Jerusalem]), captive to Damascus, as well as William the old marquis of Montferrat³⁶ and a large number of other knights and barons. Yet it happened that a most distinguished man, Lord Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, by divine inspiration embarked on a ship with some Genoese; and arriving by good fortune in the region of Tyre, withdrew to the city of Tyre which had escaped capture by the Saracens. **p. 24** He stood and faced them with a group of Genoese and held on to Tyre by defending the city throughout that winter and battling bravely against the Turks, winning many victories and holding out through courage born of God. Furthermore the aforesaid marquis sent letters and envoys to the emperor of Germany, to Philip, king of the French, to Richard, king of England and William [II], king of Sicily, to virtually all barons and most persons of rank, and to the cities of Genoa and Pisa, [urging them] to make bold preparations to serve God and to come to his assistance.

1188, Genoese Delegation to the King of Majorca

p. 26

The aforesaid consuls (1188) sent Nicola, son of the late Filippo di Lamberto, as ambassador to the king of Majorca, with whom he signed a twenty-year peace, to

³³ 23 July, 1187. See Belgrano and Imperiale, vol. 12, n. 4, p. 23, and p. 88. Belgrano infers from the fact that a peace was concluded between the Porcelli and Opizzo Lecavelo on the one hand, and the Dorias on the other in 1203 that the Dorias had a hand in this crime. Epstein, pp. 85–86 discusses these events.

³⁴ We have included this passage because of its juxtaposition with Ottobono's account of Saladin's victories in the Holy Land, and the strong implication that they were the consequence of sin by the Christians.

³⁵ The Battle of Hattin took place on 3–4 July 1187. See also pp. 160–61 of the '*Brevis Historia*', translated below. Barber, *Crusader States*, pp. 293–315 covers these events to good effect.

³⁶ William 'the Old' of Montferrat was the father of both Conrad of Montferrat mentioned here, as well as William 'Longsword' who had married Sibylla of Jerusalem and fathered the future King Baldwin V before his death in 1178. William 'the Old' features in the '*Brevis Historia*', see below, pp. 157–58, and for Conrad, pp. 164–66.

the advantage of the city of Genoa, on the terms under which it was drawn up and written down in legal instruments in Latin which were translated into a Saracen text.³⁷

1188, Election of Bonifacio as Archbishop of Genoa and Discovery of San Siro's relics

pp. 26–33

p. 26 Finally, in this year, Lord Ugo,³⁸ the second archbishop, who had lived a happy and highly esteemed life for a long time as archbishop of Genoa, paid his last debt to nature around the time of vespers on the [?]th³⁹ day of June, and at the summons of the Lord migrated from the earthly regions to heaven, and from the depths to the highest joys, and deservedly joined the Blessed Siro⁴⁰ and his other companions. **p. 27** Next day his body was solemnly buried with hymns and canticles in the manner traditional for bishops beside the altar of the Blessed Nicholas. The clergy and consuls assembled with the men of noble family from the senate and with office bearers of the city, and in devoted and humble fashion set about the business of appointing a successor. They most piously set up the process of selection with a single spirit and universal commitment, with the following venerable men as signatories, in accordance with the rules of the canons and the decrees of princes: the abbots of San Siro, Santo Stefano, San Benigno, the lord Ottone *praepositus* of Santa Maria delle Vigne, Guglielmo *praepositus* of San Donato, Oliviero priest of Santa Maria di Castello, Guglielmo priest of San Damiano, Guglielmo priest of San Giorgio, Giovanni priest of San Pietro della Porta, as well as the canons of San Lorenzo, Master Anselmo, Augustino the priest and the deacon Rustico. They all swore as follows in respect of the proper conduct of the selection: ‘Together with my colleagues who have been assigned to this task, without dishonesty or dissimulation, and with no impediment, unswayed by love, hate, fear or any conflicting interest, I will choose that person for the archbishopric of this city whom I know or honestly believe to be the most suitable, distinguished and best-fitted for this task by his principles and learning, provided that he publicly concurs in our having chosen him in this way.’⁴¹ When the oath had been administered, the named electors assembled in the palace of the archbishop of Genoa, and looking first to the canons of the church of San Lorenzo, and in

³⁷ See Belgrano and Imperiale, vol. 12, p. 26, n. 5. Both texts survive in the Archivio di Stato, Genoa (*Materie politiche, Trattati, mazzo 11*).

³⁸ Ugo della Volta, archbishop 1163–88.

³⁹ There is a lacuna in the text.

⁴⁰ San Siro, bishop of Genoa, d. 381. His namesake, Siro de’ Porcello, was archbishop from 1133 to 1163 and received a generous tribute from Caffaro, see ‘Annals’, pp. 100–101 above.

⁴¹ An identical oath was taken at the election of Ugo following Siro’s death at the end of Caffaro’s ‘Annals’ in 1163, see p. 101 above.

the presence of Adalardo, cardinal priest of the Holy Roman Church, who later became bishop of Verona, unanimously selected Lord Bonifacio, archdeacon at the time, to the archbishopric of Genoa.⁴² **p. 28** He was that same day joyfully seated on the pontifical throne by the clergy and the people, despite his struggles of resistance. And as the bells pealed out everywhere, the whole clergy joyfully sang the '*Te Deum laudamus*'.

Furthermore let witness be borne as much for the benefit of people in the future as those living now, that the aforesaid Lord Archbishop Bonifacio, in the presence of the *praepositus* of San Lorenzo, and the abbots, religious, clerics, consuls, as well as the Lord Pietro, cardinal priest of Santa Cecilia, dug beneath the altar of San Lorenzo, where he found a sarcophagus of marble and tufa, which he had opened in public, with all present watching. In it he found the remains of the blessed confessor Siro, a former bishop of Genoa and son of the holy woman⁴³ Emiliana, and with them was found his episcopal ring and part of his crozier, with which his most blessed body had been buried.⁴⁴ Two dedications were on the sarcophagus, one in lead and one in marble. The marble one comprised the epitaph: Here lies Siro who was so named at holy baptism. The earth lies light on his flower-strewn limbs.

There were similar words in the lead version, with more in addition.

This is how these remains of the blessed Siro came to the church of San Lorenzo long ago. It so happened that while his blessed body was lying in peace with the Lord in the church of St Silas, at the time that venerable man Landolfo occupied the bishop's throne of Genoa,⁴⁵ it was translated to the church of San Lorenzo; which is about 200 years ago, according to what learned men say and what is noted in records. Finally the archbishop ceremonially placed these remains in a marble casket, which rests above the altar of San Lorenzo and reinterred them, with canticles and hymns, in the presence of Cardinal Pietro, and the Genoese clergy and people. And around the tufa coffin I mentioned earlier were found bones and [other] remains of the most blessed confessors Felix and Romulus, bishops of Genoa⁴⁶...

...

The aforesaid consuls [for 1188] and the people of Genoa sent Rosso della Volta as ambassador to the king of England, to discuss with the king himself the matter of providing relief to the land of Syria. He was received with due honours by the king.⁴⁷

⁴² Bonifacio, archbishop of Genoa, 1188–1203.

⁴³ '*mulieris religiose*'.

⁴⁴ This was not archbishop Siro but the 4th-century holy man (d. 381).

⁴⁵ Landolfo was bishop of Genoa c.1019–34.

⁴⁶ Belgrano and Imperiale, vol. 12, n. 2, p. 29, says that Felix was bishop in the 5th century and Romulus in the 7th to 8th centuries.

⁴⁷ The king was probably Henry II who died 6 July 1189. For Rosso, see p. 143.

1189, Third Crusade

pp. 30–33

p. 30 During this consulate (1189) there were many feuds and plots in the city, and many animosities prevailed. On 2 May there was a major affray in St George's market between Guglielmo Vento and his kinsmen and the della Voltas and theirs; and at Pentecost there were skirmishes near San Lorenzo and Santa Maria degli Vigni.

The count of Chalons-sur-Saône came to Genoa this year, and embarked for the relief of the land of Syria.⁴⁸ And the duke of Burgundy came to Genoa.⁴⁹ The aforementioned consuls sent ambassadors, namely Ansaldo Bufferio and Enrico Diotisalvi, to Philip king of the French, and Richard king of England, and to other barons and princes beyond the Alps. Through some diabolical prompting, Donaxella, wife of Alberto, the late marquess of Incisa, and her sons kidnapped them and demanded a ransom. The city of Genoa assembled an army against them, together with the cities of Alessandria⁵⁰ and Asti; and they handed the ambassadors back under duress. **p. 31** The ambassadors then made their way to the aforementioned kings and princes, who had in the first place despatched their own ambassadors and letters to Genoa. Petitioning the kings in the cause of serving God and relieving the land of Syria, they achieved the result that the two kings, who raised the sign of the redeeming cross, were of one mind in the aforesaid relief operation; with the result that the king of France planned to come to Genoa and make the crossing from there, and the king of England intended to sail from Marseille and in fact did so.⁵¹ **p. 32**

Both the civil disputes I have already mentioned and others were brought under a satisfactory degree of control and returned to a peaceful state. During that year, many ships left the harbour of Genoa carrying knights and pilgrims. That year Guido Spinola, consul *de comuni*, made the crossing. His other consular colleagues and the commune of Genoa sent him to the relief and service of God and to [join] the siege of Acre, which the Christians were attacking and besieging. Also making the crossing were Nicola Embriaco, Folco di Castello, Simone Doria, Baldovino Guercio, Spezapreda, Rosso della Volta, and many other noble knights and foot-soldiers from the city of Genoa. They made a courageous stand in the [Christian] camp and the siege of Acre, and constructed wooden fortifications, siege-engines, and other machines of war.⁵² In the month of April that year,

⁴⁸ William II, count of Châlons-sur-Marne (1168–1203).

⁴⁹ Duke Hugh III of Burgundy (1162–92). Hugh had been identified as a possible husband for Sibylla of Jerusalem in 1178, but he had failed to travel to the East; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 239–42.

⁵⁰ In Liguria.

⁵¹ See **Document 20** below for the agreement between the Genoese and the duke of Burgundy regarding transport of the army. For the preparations of Richard and, to a lesser extent, Philip, see J.B. Gillingham, *Richard I* (London, 1999), pp. 123–32.

⁵² On the siege of Acre, see Barber, *Crusader States*, pp. 330–38.

the Emperor Frederick started the journey by land, and hastened to meet [with Philip and Richard] with a huge host of knights. Passing through the heart of the Byzantine Empire,⁵³ he crossed the Bosphorus, entered Turkish territory and entered Syria after many hazards and military incidents by way of the land of the sultan of Iconium and other neighbouring territories. But while he was in the region of Antioch, crossing the River Saleph,⁵⁴ he accidentally fell into the water and, as was pleasing to the divine will, died. Many of his knights died, struck down by starvation, destitution and disease....⁵⁵

p. 34 Philip, king of the French, entered Genoa on 1 August of this year (1190), with the duke of Burgundy and the count of Nevers,⁵⁶ and very many other princes and barons. He stayed in Genoa until the day when the feast of St Bartholomew the apostle is celebrated.⁵⁷ On that day he put to sea with the aforesaid barons, and with the sails of his ship billowing he journeyed to Syria, to rendezvous with the besiegers of the city of Acre. That same year Richard, king of England, arrived from Marseille with 15 galleys and entered Genoa on 13 August. He held a meeting with the aforesaid King Philip, then left the same day and put into Portofino harbour where, with a storm threatening, he waited for several days. Then with favourable winds blowing, he held his course and boldly hurried to rendezvous at the siege.⁵⁸

Also at that time, many ships full of pilgrims and knights left the harbour of Genoa to cross the sea to bring relief [to the Holy Land], among them Simone Vento and Morino, consuls *de comuni*.

⁵³ *Romaniam*.

⁵⁴ This is a broad turn of phrase; the River Saleph, now called the River Göksu, in Cilicia is only loosely in 'the region of Antioch' and over 300 kilometres from the city of Antioch itself. Here, '*fluvium Ferri*'.

⁵⁵ For the principal accounts of Frederick's crusade, see *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, tr. G.A. Loud, Crusade Texts in Translation 19 (Farnham, 2010). For his death on 10 June 1190, see pp. 116, 172. As Ottobono Scriba indicates, the emperor's demise was followed by that of many of his nobles. Most of the latter died at Antioch which, as Loud cogently argues, was the point at which the German crusade really lost hope, pp. 27–29.

⁵⁶ Peter II of Courtenay, count of Nevers, and cousin of Philip Augustus. He was later emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1216–17, see: E. Siberry, 'The Crusading Counts of Nevers', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 34 (1990), pp. 68–9.

⁵⁷ 24 August. See Belgrano and Imperiale, vol. 12, p. 35, n. 2 for alternative dates which have been suggested, but which he rejects.

⁵⁸ Ottobono rather simplifies Richard's progress to the East which included a long stay on Sicily and the conquest of Cyprus. See Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 130–54.

1191, Agreement with the King of Morocco

p. 41

That same year, Guglielmo Zerbino was sent on behalf of the commune of Genoa as ambassador, with Oberto di Negro, to the king of Morocco, Elmiremunulinum, with whom they entered into an agreement.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ The title Amir al-Mu'mimin is used here of Abu Yusuf Ya'qub al-Mansur (1184–99), the Almohad caliph. See Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 237–49.

A Short History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem¹

The text we have translated is from L. Belgrano ed., ‘Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de suoi continuatori’, Fonti per la storia d’Italia, 118 vols (Rome 1887–1993), vols 11–14 bis (Rome 1890–1901), vol. 11, pp.127–149. Page numbers refer to this text.

p. 127 After the city of Jerusalem had been captured, as you can find written above, that is to say in the first *Historia*, in the year 1099, Duke Godfrey was chosen as [its] king and lord.² He was a good man deserving of the greatest respect, who said he would not wear a golden crown in the place where the exalted Jesus Christ endured wearing a crown of thorns. After a short period of the aforesaid Godfrey’s reign, the light of his life was extinguished around Christmas-time, in the year of our Lord 1100.³

After his death, a certain Baldwin, brother of the aforesaid Duke Godfrey, was chosen king and lord.⁴ He was count of Edessa, a city of which he had taken possession [1098]. When the aforesaid Baldwin was invited to assume that office [the throne of Jerusalem], he put himself forward, largely in response to the persistent requests from certain Genoese, who were at hand with 26 galleys and six ships,⁵ and likewise to the prayers of the Patriarch Daimbert and of Maurizio bishop of Porto and legate of the Roman *curia*.⁶ Baldwin, a most honest and distinguished man, took possession of Caesarea at the beginning of his reign escorted by those galleys, as is clearly recorded above in the history of Caesarea.⁷

p. 128 He then overcame a city called Acre, with the help of the Genoese, who committed 40 galleys to helping him there. In exchange for this loyal service⁸ he had received from the Genoese, Baldwin granted and gave as a concession to the commune of Genoa one-third of the territory of Acre, as can be found recorded

¹ For a discussion of the origins of this text, please see Introduction, above, pp. 41–42.

² These events are covered in Caffaro, *LCO* (pp. 115–16 above), rather than the ‘Annals’.

³ Godfrey died on 18 July 1100; Baldwin I was crowned at Christmas that same year.

⁴ King Baldwin I (1100–1118).

⁵ Four ships in Caffaro, *LCO*, p. 117 above.

⁶ See n. 8, p. 50 and n. 11 on p. 51 above for these men.

⁷ This episode is covered in most detail in Caffaro, ‘Annals’, pp. 53–56 above.

⁸ ‘*servicium*’ delivery of assistance to him in acknowledgment of his kingship.

item by item in a certain formal grant⁹ which he gave orders to be executed there and which is in the archives of the commune of Genoa under the year 1105.¹⁰

The same year the Genoese captured Jubayl with Count Raymond of Saint-Gilles, as is recorded in the first *Historia*; and they took Tartus in Syria in 1101.¹¹ During the reign of the aforesaid Baldwin, the Genoese fitted out 40 galleys and crossed the sea with Bertrand Zavata, the bastard son of Count Raymond count of Saint-Gilles. They captured Tripoli and Count Bertrand granted and gave the Genoese commune one-third of Tripoli as a concession, in the presence of the aforesaid King Baldwin, as is defined in a legal document in the archives of the commune of Genoa, and dated July 1109.¹² But after a few days the aforesaid Count Bertrand stole from the Genoese what he had granted to them as a concession, in respect of which he was specifically bound by an oath.

The aforesaid King Baldwin captured Beirut with 22 galleys, in the year 1110. Around that time the Genoese captured a city called Mamistra¹³ in the principality of Antioch with those same 22 galleys without the help of anyone. **p. 129** Baldwin subdued many cities and towns during his reign and added them to the kingdom of Jerusalem. He lived for many years, and eventually died [1118]. But during his reign, King Baldwin himself granted to the Genoese that the concessions he had granted to them by deed of concession¹⁴ should be inscribed in letters of gold in the apse of the Sepulchre. This inscription cost the Genoese 2,000 *hyperperi* of Byzantine gold. These letters were inscribed in this way and survived until the reign of Amalric, who had them destroyed and obliterated.¹⁵

After Baldwin's death, the count of Edessa was chosen as king. He was a blood relative of the aforesaid Baldwin and was likewise called Baldwin.¹⁶ The deceased Baldwin had had a brother called Eustace, count of Boulogne. Be aware that when this Eustace knew of the death of his brother, he readied himself to go to Jerusalem to claim the kingdom and take possession of it in succession to his brother. When he had got as far as Apulia, he heard that the Baldwin I have mentioned, his kinsman, had been chosen as king. He immediately went home, saying that he in no way wanted the land of our Lord to be brought into ill repute on his account, notwithstanding the fact that the succession belonged to him by

⁹ 'privilegium'. See **Document 2c**, dated 1104 by Antonella Rovere.

¹⁰ See also Caffaro, 'Annals', p. 57 above for the capture of Acre.

¹¹ This is another reference to Caffaro, *LCO*; see p. 121 above.

¹² See **Document 3**.

¹³ An event not mentioned in the 'Annals'; the city had exchanged hands several times since the crusaders reached the area, see Barber, *Crusader States*, p. 84.

¹⁴ 'privilegium'.

¹⁵ See the discussion and notes in the Introduction, pp. 24–25, and **Document 2a**.

¹⁶ King Baldwin II, (1118–31).

right.¹⁷ The Baldwin who was count of Edessa had a daughter called Melisende,¹⁸ who was the queen and wife of King Fulk. And let no one be surprised that I have just made reference to her, since the land was subsequently lost through an unfortunate incident involving this woman. After he became king, Baldwin had two daughters, one of whom was called Dulcis¹⁹ – she was the wife of Count Raymond [II] of Tripoli,²⁰ **p. 130** who was killed by the Assassins, leaving one son by his said wife, likewise called Raymond [III], during whose reign the [Holy] Land was lost.²¹ Baldwin's other daughter was called Alice. She was the wife of Prince Bohemond [II]²² the son of Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard. He had one daughter by her, called Constance, the wife of Raymond count of Poitiers.²³ King Baldwin, a most honourable and distinguished man, lived for many years, and courageously captured and brought under his rule many cities and towns, notably taking the city of Tyre with a Venetian fleet.²⁴ And later he died.²⁵

At the death of King Baldwin, his daughter, Melisende, married Count Fulk of Anjou.²⁶ He was made king and held that land and ruled over it for a long time, a most honourable man.²⁷ By this same wife he had two sons, one called Baldwin and the other Amalric, both of whom later became kings.²⁸ Finally King Fulk died, and his son Baldwin, who was 13, succeeded him in the kingdom. The other, Amalric, who was seven, became count of Jaffa. King Baldwin [III] was endowed with every kind of virtue and distinction, and had a long life. He married Theodora, niece of the Emperor Manuel and a daughter of Manuel's elder brother Isaac.²⁹ He held and extended his territory during that time, and constructed many

¹⁷ Eustace took part in the First Crusade but returned home afterwards. The episode concerning the kingship was noted by other writers such as AA, pp. 868–71 and, in a similar, if more detailed form, by William of Tyre, pp. 548–51, trans. vol. 2, pp. 519–21 and also discussed by Murray, *Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 120–23, 171–75.

¹⁸ 'Millixen' in the MSS.

¹⁹ A mistake, repeated on pp.157–58. Her name was Hodierna.

²⁰ Count Raymond II of Tripoli (1137–52).

²¹ Count Raymond III of Tripoli (1152–87).

²² Prince Bohemond II of Antioch (1126–30).

²³ Constance's two husbands, Raymond of Poitiers (1136–49) and Reynald of Châtillon (1153–61) were princes of Antioch by marriage. Constance ruled in her own right 1149–53 and 1161–63.

²⁴ In 1124.

²⁵ Baldwin died in 1131.

²⁶ Fulk actually married Melisende when he arrived in the Levant in 1129, two years prior to Baldwin II's death.

²⁷ Fulk (1131–43) and Melisende (1131–52)

²⁸ Baldwin III (1143–63) and Amalric (1163–74)

²⁹ Manuel I Komnenos, Byzantine emperor, 1143–80. The wedding between Baldwin III and Theodora took place in 1158.

forts and towns. He performed many other prodigious feats, in particular capturing the city of Ascalon in 1154, the tenth year of his reign.³⁰

p. 131 Around that same time, King Louis of France and King Conrad of Germany mustered a great army.³¹ They arrived in Outremer by land, and besieged the city of Damascus. Taking part in that siege was Frederick duke of Swabia, son of King Conrad's brother and later emperor.³² Conrad hacked a knight in armour in half with his sword before the gate of the city of Damascus.³³ Yet they retreated from the siege, and could not capture the city itself.

King Baldwin took religious vows and took up residence, though not for long, in the house of the Temple, which had just been built. There he came to the end of his allotted life, in the year of our Lord 1162.³⁴ His brother Amalric succeeded him in the kingdom, at the age of 27 in the year of our Lord 1163. Before he became king, this Amalric had as his wife the sister of the young Count Joscelin of Edessa, who was called Agnes. She was related to him in the fourth degree, and he had one son by her, called Baldwin who afterwards was made king, even though he was a leper.³⁵ He also had one daughter by her. She was called Sybilla and was the wife of William Longsword, marquis of Montferrat, and also of King Guy. Amalric knew that he was continuing to live in a state of sin with Agnes as his wife, because of her ancestry by which he was conjoined with his own blood relative; and so he declared that he could not legally wear the crown so long as he remained in this state of sin. **p. 132** He therefore divorced her.³⁶ When he had separated from her, he took another woman as his wife. She was called Maria, great-niece of the Emperor Manuel, and daughter of John Protosebastos, the Emperor Manuel's nephew and son of Manuel's brother. He had one daughter by her, called Isabella who had four husbands.³⁷ King Amalric himself lived a long

³⁰ Ascalon was captured in 1153.

³¹ This was the Second Crusade, 1145–49; the failed attempt on Damascus was in 1148, see Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 215–26.

³² Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90).

³³ The feat of cutting a man in half was also reported in William of Tyre, p. 765, trans. vol. 2, p. 190. It may well be regarded as something of a literary *topos* given that we can read of Godfrey of Bouillon and Richard the Lionheart both performing the same deed. See respectively: Guibert, pp. 284–85, trans. p. 133; Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. and tr. M. Ailes and M.C. Barber, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 2003), vol. 1, p. 187, trans., vol. 2, p. 185.

³⁴ Baldwin III died in 1163.

³⁵ On this marriage and the accession and reign of King Baldwin IV, see: B. Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 2000).

³⁶ Hamilton, *The Leper King*, pp. 23–27; H.E. Mayer, 'The Beginnings of King Amalric of Jerusalem', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B.Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 121–35.

³⁷ Isabella's husbands were: Humphrey of Toron (marriage annulled 1190), Conrad of Montferrat (d. 1192), Henry of Champagne (d. 1197) and Aimery of Lusignan (d. 1205),

life thereafter, and was an excellent ruler of the kingdom, a prudent and generous man, who won many victories in battle and pacified and rebuilt many towns. Many favourable developments took place in his time; and though I cannot give you a full account of everything, I shall recount as much of what he did as it seems to me needs to be told.

There was a certain lord in Egypt, whose name was Mullena,³⁸ in whose domain few men could be found to carry arms and fight because they were so slothful and wretched. He himself lived in seclusion in his palace. There was a certain mighty prince in that country called Shawar who was engaged in a major dispute with certain leading nobles of that country, whose names I do not know.³⁹ When Shawar was seeking to assemble an army against his enemies, he sent a message to the aforesaid King Amalric that he should come and help him with his knights as mercenaries. Moreover when King Amalric had come to his aid with his knights, Shawar paid the king himself 1,000 bezants a day for his knightly service, and any from among his knights according to Amalric's preference.⁴⁰

p. 133 They went to Cairo, and were in Alexandria and brought that city under Amalric's control [August 1167]. Amalric could have held on to it, had he not wanted to avoid contravening the oath which he had sworn to Shawar.⁴¹ Shawar's enemies however sent to Damascus for help against Amalric and his knights, and a certain emir called Shirkuh came to their aid.⁴² He had four nephews, Shams ad-Daula, Shafeh Salem, Saladin and Safardin, who accompanied this emir with many other knights on the relief expedition. King Amalric did not however leave on account of their arrival, but lay siege to a city in that region by the name of Bilbais.⁴³ Finally he brought Shawar and his enemies to a harmonious peace on Shawar's terms, and returned with his knights to his own country with honour and glory, and with an abundance of booty. The Turks likewise for their part returned

see also below, pp. 157, 166.

³⁸ 'Mullena' 'Mawlana'; Belgrano points out that this is a generic for 'Lord'. The reference is to al-Adid, the last Fatimid caliph in Cairo (1160–71). This is clearly a translation of the same Arab word as 'Mulane' in the Old French continuation of William of Tyre, 'Chronique d'Ernoult et de Bernard le Trésorier', ed. M.L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871, reprinted Famagusta, 1974), p. 18 et seq., but there the word refers to the vizier, Shawar.

³⁹ 'Foartus', subsequently 'Xoartus'. Shawar was the vizier of Egypt 1164–69.

⁴⁰ This figure is a close echo of the 1,000 dinars a day said by the Muslim writer Ibn abi-Taiyi to have been paid to Amalric. See Barber, *Crusader States*, p. 238.

⁴¹ Read 'ad', with MSS and Bellomo, for Belgrano's '*ab eius beneplacitum*'.

⁴² 'Sirochonus'. Shirkuh was one of Nur ad-Din's most important generals. On his career and family see Eddé, *Saladin*, pp. 22–33.

⁴³ A city on the southern edge of the Nile Delta; the ancient *Pelusium*. This siege, accompanied by a brutal massacre by the Franks, was a serious strategic error on the part of Amalric, which, as the author here suggests, broke his oath to Shawar and led to Shirkuh's later conquest of Egypt. See Barber, *Crusader States*, pp. 237–54 for a fine overview of this complex series of campaigns.

to their homeland, with a huge haul of bezants which they had acquired from their pay as mercenaries. Shirkuh however formed a plan to conquer the city of Cairo, as he observed its fertility and its weakness in manpower. So he secretly assembled a large army, and with his nephews he advanced on Cairo and laid siege to it, with King Amalric unaware of his approach. Shirkuh came for a meeting with Shawar, but disgracefully betrayed and killed him, and in like fashion killed Mullenā, to whom I referred above.⁴⁴ There were no others who opposed them, and Shirkuh and his nephews captured the city and brought it under their rule. **p. 134** Moreover, control over the city was delegated to Saladin.

Amalric was greatly concerned at reports of the capture of that city and the power which Saladin had as a consequence. So he immediately had seven⁴⁵ galleys fitted out, and sailed with them to Constantinople to the Emperor Manuel, great-uncle of his wife Maria, to ask him for help. Manuel promptly considered his case and took up his cause. Manuel was endowed in every way with great generosity and statesmanlike qualities, and outshone in virtue all his predecessors in the Greek world for the previous three hundred and more years. He formed a plan to have collected together a huge amount of gold and silver and silk textiles, which he wanted to show to King Amalric. So having assembled a huge quantity of these commodities, he had them placed in his palace, and then invited King Amalric to lunch. When they got up from lunch, the Emperor Manuel told King Amalric that he wanted to show him his treasure. And when he had seen the treasure, the emperor asked him what he would do⁴⁶ if he possessed so much treasure. Amalric responded that he would conquer and bring under his control all⁴⁷ the land within his region which was occupied by the Saracens. The Emperor Manuel replied, 'For my part, it is for that very reason that I do not want the treasure to stay here.' At which he gave instructions for all the treasure to be given to Amalric. King Amalric accepted the treasure and returned with his people in a mood of joy and celebration. Through use of this treasure, he assembled a great army and inflicted major damage on the Saracens. **p. 135** In particular, he laid siege to a city called Banyas⁴⁸ which was very close to the city of Damascus.

⁴⁴ See note 38 above. For this period see Eddé, *Saladin*, pp. 34–55.

⁴⁵ William of Tyre, p. 942, trans. vol. 2, p. 378 says there were 10 galleys. For coverage of this episode, see idem., 940–46, trans. vol. 2, pp. 377–83. This account of Amalric's visit to Constantinople is intriguing, containing details that are not apparent from other texts. Like William, however, there is no mention made that Amalric swore fealty to the Byzantines, although the gifts of gold and silk are mentioned by both. The episode is discussed in Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 208–13.

⁴⁶ Read '*quid factururus esset*' for Belgrano's '*qui...*'

⁴⁷ Belgrano and Pertz insert '*ipsam*', followed by Bellomo. N omits any qualifier, but B has '*totam*' followed here. The substance is not affected.

⁴⁸ The ancient Caesarea Philippi, in the Golan Heights. William of Tyre mentioned that Amalric gathered his troops to shadow Nur ad-Din's threat to Banyas in 1171, but the

Finally however Amalric met the end of his days, and his son Baldwin succeeded him as king.⁴⁹ Amalric left a regent for him, a kinsman named Miles de Plancy, who was later killed by the lords of Beirut.⁵⁰ But before his own death, Amalric, together with the canons of the Sepulchre, had destroyed the golden letters inscribed on the apse of the Sepulchre which defined what concessions had been given to the Genoese commune, as is recorded earlier in this account.⁵¹

King Baldwin [IV], son of King Amalric, had a long life,⁵² and was a most virtuous and generous man. He was however a leper. Many blessings were bestowed on the kingdom of Jerusalem during his reign, and he was victorious in ten battles.⁵³ He himself never surrendered in any battle. He married his sister, Sibylla, to William Longsword, marquis of Montferrat, who had one son by her named Baldwin, who subsequently became king.⁵⁴ Later, after the death of William Longsword, Sibylla married King Guy. Baldwin married another sister, named Isabella, to a certain Humphrey, son of Humphrey of Toron; she later became the wife of Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, brother of William Longsword. She was also wife of Count Henry of Champagne, and of Amalric, king of Cyprus, brother of King Guy.⁵⁵ **p. 136** Later, King Baldwin, who was a leper, died and left his kingdom to his nephew Baldwin, son of William Longsword, leaving as regent Count Raymond of Tripoli,⁵⁶ son of the Countess Dulcis,⁵⁷ and a blood relative of King Amalric. Once he had been made regent, the count ruled the land like a king. The count owned a certain city in his own right which had passed to him from his wife. It was called Tiberias and was in the kingdom of Jerusalem; 80 knights holding land and property were included in the lordship of the city.⁵⁸ The count's

next major Frankish siege of the town took place in 1174. William of Tyre, 946, 956–57, trans. vol. 2, pp. 383–84, 394–95.

⁴⁹ Amalric died on 11 July 1174. Baldwin IV reigned from 1174 to 1185.

⁵⁰ On the failed regency of Miles of Plancy, see: B. Hamilton, 'Miles of Plancy and the Fief of Beirut', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B.Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 136–46 where the evidence here is addressed directly.

⁵¹ See Introduction, pp. 24–26 above, and **Documents 2a, 16a–f** below.

⁵² Baldwin IV lived from 1161–85. The author may have thought this was a long life for a leper. It is hard to translate '*per multa tempora vixit*' otherwise.

⁵³ This too is a curious statement; Baldwin's reign certainly saw some military successes for the Franks, notably Montgisard in 1177, but to claim 10 victories is an exaggeration.

⁵⁴ King Baldwin V, 1185–86.

⁵⁵ See Hamilton, *The Leper King*, pp. 161–62, 218–22; Barber, *Crusader States*, pp. 338, 352.

⁵⁶ Raymond III, Count of Tripoli 1152–87.

⁵⁷ Hodierna; see n. 19, p. 153 above.

⁵⁸ '*terram et feudum possidentes*'. John of Ibelin recorded that Tiberias (as the main settlement of the principality of Galilee) owed 100 knights. P.W. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 138, 195.

wife however had had a previous husband, to whom she had borne four sons, Hugh, Oste, William and Ralph. They were of the highest standing and endowed with great integrity. They took their orders from the count. Taking due cognizance of the fact that he was lord of Tripoli, regent for the kingdom of Jerusalem and lord of Tiberias, this count whom I have often mentioned considered acquiring and granting to himself the kingdom⁵⁹ of Jerusalem of which he was regent, saying that he looked to himself for authority and that he ought to have and keep the kingdom as of right. He reasoned thus; that King Baldwin II, his grandfather, had at the time he was count of Edessa had a daughter named Melisende; as time passed, when he was king, he had another daughter named Dulcis, who was the mother of this count. Since the custom was that the first heir should receive the inheritance from the father, he argued that only the county of Edessa was due to Melisende because she had been born at the time when Baldwin was count of Edessa; but that the kingdom passed to his mother Dulcis, because she had been born when Baldwin was actually king; thus, he argued, she was the first heir with a stronger entitlement to the kingdom. The count discussed this matter with the barons and leading nobles in Outremer, whom he found were of his persuasion.⁶⁰

Not long after this, the boy Baldwin, who should have held the kingdom by right, died in Acre. The marquis of Montferrat, the boy's grandfather; his mother, Sibylla; the Count Guy of Jaffa, Sibylla's husband; Prince Reynald, and Count Joscelin were there, and they all had the dead boy brought to the kingdom of Jerusalem and had him interred there.⁶¹ The count of Tripoli heard about the boy's death while he was in Tiberias, and called a meeting of all his friends, saying that he wanted to set off for the kingdom of Jerusalem; if Queen Sibylla, the boy's mother, wanted to assume this kingdom, he was prepared to stand in her way and demonstrate that the kingdom belonged to him by right.⁶² **p. 138** In the kingdom of Jerusalem the Master of the Temple, Gerard de Ridefort, had a strong dislike for the count of Tripoli; this was because this Gerard, master of the Temple, had

⁵⁹ 'regnum', in preference to Belgrano's 'regum'.

⁶⁰ The writer of this text is evidently sympathetic to Raymond's point of view, as was the count's great supporter William of Tyre. The line of argument advanced here is, as Hamilton points out, incorrect. Only Baldwin II's fourth daughter, Iveta, later abbess of Bethany, was born after he became king. Hamilton, *The Leper King*, p. 217, n. 30.

⁶¹ Baldwin died in the summer of 1186 and was buried in the Holy Sepulchre. His tomb was largely destroyed in the fire of 1808, although fragments survive, along with earlier engravings. J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 467-69.

⁶² We are grateful to Peter Edbury for his help on this sentence, which is probably corrupt. Belgrano's text reads '*ipsum defendere volebat et hostendere quod ad ipsam de iure pertinebat*'. With the sense, we have transposed '*ipsum*' and '*ipsam*', making Sybilla, rather than 'regnum' the object of '*defendere*'. Hamilton outlines these events, concluding that Raymond fatally underestimated the level of support for Sibylla and that the range of support that she enjoyed enabled her to secure the succession. Hamilton, *The Leper King*, pp. 216-22.

sought of the count the hand in marriage of a certain unmarried woman, to whom a fort called Botron in this count's county belonged, and the count had promised her to him in response to his petition.⁶³ There was however a certain Pisan in Tripoli, who was very rich, and had a nephew called Plebanus; the Pisan offered 10,000 bezants to the count if he would give the lady I have mentioned in marriage to his nephew. Having laid his hands on the bezants, the count married this same heiress to the aforesaid Plebanus. When Gerard heard this news, he was so overcome by shame and sadness, that he offered himself to the Temple; and shortly afterwards he was made master of the Temple.⁶⁴

When the boy called Baldwin had been buried, the master of the Temple, Prince Reynald and Count Joscelin with the rest of their friends who were on hand offered the territory to Count Guy of Jaffa and his wife Sibylla, and crowned Guy king. As King Guy was leaving the Temple, with the crown on his head, the master of the Temple looked at him and remarked that the crown was well worth his own loss of Botron. The count in Tiberias was greatly disturbed at hearing this news; and as rumour commonly had it he straight away sent his representatives to Saladin and made a secret deal with him.⁶⁵ After this the patriarch of Jerusalem, along with the bishops, Hospitallers and other leading nobles and magnates of that country were so afraid of losing the Holy Land⁶⁶ on account of the disagreement between the king and the count that they took steps to achieve a reconciliation and peace between them. But Lord Baldwin of Ibelin, unwilling to consent to this agreement, went to Antioch and died shortly after.⁶⁷ **p. 139**

A short time later, Prince Reynald⁶⁸ who was the most powerful man in that area and whose wife had formerly been married to the Lord Humphrey of Toron, wrecked the truce which had been concluded between the king and Saladin. One day he seized a very large caravan from Saladin's supporters, from which he

⁶³ Botron, a small lordship on the coast south of Tripoli.

⁶⁴ Gerard de Ridefort was originally a Flemish knight. A similar version of this story is also reported by the 'Lyon Eracles' Old French Continuation of William of Tyre. Plebanus (or Plivain) was lord of Botron by 1181 and was taken captive at Hattin in 1187. This seems to have been a reasonably well-known story that has a basis in fact; Gerard certainly disliked Raymond too. The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre can be found in: *Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, pp. 38–39, 47. On his career as master of the Templars see M.C. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 108–17.

⁶⁵ On the coronation, Raymond's dealings with Saladin and subsequent efforts to make peace between the various factions, see Hamilton, *The Leper King*, pp. 218–24; Barber, *Crusader States*, pp. 290–96; Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East*, pp. 251–57.

⁶⁶ 'timentes de amissione terre'. We have translated 'Holy Land', not just 'territory'.

⁶⁷ Baldwin of Ibelin had publically refused to perform homage to King Guy, according to the Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, *Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, pp. 28–29. Baldwin was last heard of in 1187.

⁶⁸ Reynald of Châtillon, formerly prince of Antioch.

captured men and took a huge quantity of goods. Saladin was seriously concerned about this, and sent many messengers to the king and barons and other leading nobles of the land to get them to effect the return of the men and the other goods he had lost. But Prince Reynald was unwilling to return anything, both because he was on the closest terms with the king and because he had shown support for his being given the crown.⁶⁹

Saladin assembled a huge army, and entering the Christian territory with a force of 60,000 laid siege to the city of Tiberias.⁷⁰ On learning this, King Guy and the count of Tripoli, with the Templars and the other leading nobles and magnates of the Holy Land, mustered a large army to relieve Tiberias. In it they had 1,000 knights, 4,000 Turcoples⁷¹ and 25,000 foot-soldiers. Advancing towards Tiberias they occupied positions on an impregnable mountain in front of the town and with a plentiful water supply. While they were there they held a meeting – I mean the king, the count and the other leading nobles and barons – to discuss making an attack on Saladin. The count's response to this proposal was to say he did not think it was a good idea to initiate hostilities against Saladin; Tiberias was already Saladin's for the taking, but if he were to capture it, he could not carry the territory away with him; relief forces for their side were continuing to grow, while help for Saladin was withering away.⁷² So they should be patient, and rout Saladin when he retreated, thus causing him maximum damage. **p. 140** On hearing this Gerard the master of the Temple responded that there was still a whiff of the 'hair of the wolf'.⁷³ The count was incensed at this remark, and said he wanted a battle [after all], at which they marched down on to the level ground. Saladin observed this

⁶⁹ This is elliptical. Reynald was unwilling to make restitution, and the king could not force him to do so because he needed his continued support against his political enemies. On these crucial events, see Hamilton, *Leper King*, pp. 225–27; Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 247–50.

⁷⁰ The size of Saladin's army is generally agreed to have been nearer 30,000. On the events at Hattin, 3–4 July 1187, see the detailed evaluation by B.Z. Kedar, 'The Battle of Hattin Revisited', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B.Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 190–207; Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 255–66.

⁷¹ Locally recruited troops, often light cavalry, often of indigenous Christian and baptised Turks, Barber, *Crusader States*, p. 71.

⁷² This confusing sentence reads '*quoniam Tabaria sua erat, et si caperet Tabariam, terram inde portare non poterat*', It makes more sense to read '*sua*' as referring to Saladin than to Raymond himself. The point that Saladin's support was potentially fragile is an interesting assessment of the sultan's position.

⁷³ '*adhuc aderat de pilo lupi*'. This taunt also occurs in the account of Hattin in the 'Lyon Eracles' Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, p. 37. It appears too in the description of the Battle of Mansourah (1250) in the Rothelin continuation of William of Tyre. See *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century; The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with part of the Eracles or Acre Text*, trans J. Shirley, Crusade Texts in Translation 5 (Aldershot, 1999), p. 95 where it is a taunt of cowardice or duplicity directed at the Templars.

manoeuvre, and ordering his army to prepare for battle, feigned flight. He did this to offer up the more open level ground to the Christians. But when the Christians were clear of the mountain, Saladin turned to face them with his army and placed himself between the mountain and the Christians so that they could find no refuge there. As for the Christians, they made for a small hill with a wood nearby, since they had lost their water supply. Then the Turks set fire to the wood. Since it was summer time and the Christians had no water, they could not hold out. The count of Tripoli realised this, and rallying some of his knights in a body boldly charged Saladin's army. The Saracens exposed the open ground [by parting ranks] and the count with his knights escaped the hands of his enemies and made their way to Acre. All the other Christians turned to flee, and Saladin took them all prisoner.⁷⁴

At that time the patriarch of Jerusalem was captured with the True Cross which he always bore in battle against the enemies of God, and which certain Genoese afterwards took to Genoa by the following means.⁷⁵ After the city of Acre had later been captured by Saladin, as time passed he made a truce with Isaac the emperor of the Greeks⁷⁶ on the basis that, among other things, the emperor would build mosques in the city of Constantinople for the Saracens to use, and that he would himself return to the emperor the True Cross which he had seized. **p. 141** While

⁷⁴ The Genoese sent their report of the Battle of Hattin to Pope Urban III. It is translated below as **Document 18**.

⁷⁵ The True Cross was the Jerusalem Franks' great talisman and always carried into battle. Its loss was widely mourned and the recovery of this object was frequently raised in peace negotiations with the Muslims over the next few decades. This account, which intrudes strangely on the general narrative, refers to several Cross reliquaries. It seems unlikely that the major reliquary taken at Hattin came to Genoa given that no other sources comment on this. Other writers mention the recovery of this object, or parts of it, during the Third and Fifth Crusades. That said, the objects described here seem to have been other Cross reliquaries (containing smaller pieces of the relic). We also know that Guglielmo Grasso was indeed a Genoese pirate, although he later joined his relative, Count Henry of Malta as an admiral working for Emperor Henry VI of Germany. See D. Abulafia, 'Henry, count of Malta and his Mediterranean Activities, 1203–1230', in *Studies on Malta before the Knights*, ed. A.T. Luttrell (London, 1975), pp. 104–25; Mack, 'The Merchant of Genoa', pp. 79–85. Frolow traces the various relics of the True Cross reported to have arrived in Genoa, A. Frolow, *La relique de la vraie croix: recherches sur le développement d'un culte*, 2 vols (Paris, 1961–65), 1, nos. 384, 448, 449, 556, 595. Ligato has drawn attention to the variety of objects and situations in which the Cross was invoked. G. Ligato, 'The Political Meanings of the Relic of the Holy Cross among the Crusaders and in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Example of 1185', in *Autour de la première croisade*, ed. M. Balard (Paris, 1996), pp. 315–30; Polonio, 'Devozioni di lungo corso: lo scalo genovese', pp. 361–75.

⁷⁶ Isaac II Angelos, emperor 1185–95 and 1203–1204. On his dealings with Saladin, see J. Harris, 'Collusion with the Infidel as a Pretext for Western Military Action against Byzantium (1180–1204)', in *Languages of Love and Hate: Conflict, Communication and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean*, eds S. Lambert and H. Nicholson (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 99–117.

Saladin was shipping the True Cross with many other gifts to the emperor in a particular ship, a Genoese called Guglielmo Grasso, and a Pisan called Fortis, who had before this been mutual enemies, got together, as they were both pirates, and seized the ship. Realising from one of Saladin's envoys that the True Cross was there, Fortis purloined that fragment and shipped it to Bonifacio.⁷⁷ When later three Genoese ships captured Bonifacio, Fortis took the Cross and fled swiftly⁷⁸ across the sea. He was pursued by the Genoese and captured with the True Cross. It was brought to Genoa with great rejoicing and is displayed to the people on a Friday every month.

Also in the same place is another [part of the] True Cross which was brought to Genoa by the following means, and is called the Cross of Helena.⁷⁹ After the Venetians had taken Constantinople in the year of our Lord 1203, they were in the process of sending that [fragment of the] Cross to the commune of Venice in a certain ship. A certain citizen of Genoa, Deodedelo, who practised the pirate's art, captured the cross and brought it to Genoa, where an inscription in Greek letters was made. It is called the Cross of Helena because when St Helena, mother of Constantine, was deemed worthy of finding our Lord's Cross after the Passion of our Lord, she made this Cross out of the same wood and left it to be an object of adoration in the city of Constantinople after her death. With the passage of time the patriarch of Constantinople decorated the Cross with silver so that more could be included in the letters inscribed on the Cross. There is also in the window beside the altar of St John the Baptist another [fragment of the] True Cross, which is called the Holy Cross of the Hospital of St. Lazarus from Bethany.⁸⁰ **p. 142** Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, sent this to the commune and consuls of Genoa⁸¹ in return for the goods and real estate he had received from them, after the king of France had captured Acre in his company and he had found the Cross in that place. This Cross is kissed by the people on Good Friday.⁸²

⁷⁷ On the southern tip of Corsica.

⁷⁸ '*siccis pedibus*'/ 'swiftly', literally 'with dry feet'. This could be a joke, hinting at a miracle achieved through the Cross.

⁷⁹ Frolov, *La relique de la vraie croix*, no. 449, pp. 381–82.

⁸⁰ A marginal gloss to N notes; '*istud intermedium non erat in cronica Caphari. Set sic reperitur scriptum de vera cruce in libris ecclesie beati Laurencii*'. It is curious that Caffaro's continuators did not mention the provenance of Genoa's fragments of the True Cross in the 'Annals'.

⁸¹ The MSS have '*mis(s)it eam communi lanue et dominabus in retributionem bonorum et honoris quod habuerat ab eis*', retained by Bellomo with '*dominabus*' amended to '*donabat*' by Pertz and Belgrano on grounds of sense, though the imperfect tense reads oddly. '*Consulibus*' is a possibility further from the surviving text but which we have nevertheless adopted on grounds of sense. '*Honor*' might mean 'honour or distinction', but conjoined with '*bona*' it seems to have the sense of '*real estate*' our preferred translation.

⁸² This relic has the most plausible lineage given Conrad's grant made in April 1190, **Document 19b**. Frolov, *La relique de la vraie croix*, no. 384, p. 351. He discusses

After these events Saladin returned to his tents triumphant in victory, and ordered some of his prisoners to his presence. When King Guy, Prince Reynald, the master of the Temple, and certain other barons were before him, the king asked Saladin to arrange for him to be given a drink. At which Saladin immediately gave orders for a drink to be given to him.⁸³ But when the prince made a similar demand of Saladin for a drink, he replied that he could most definitely not have it provided for him. For it was customary among the Saracens that once you had offered a drink to someone you did not then do violence to them. Saladin told the prince that he was himself a virtuous man, and was unwilling even to swear an oath other than on the buckles of his own shoes; but the prince had come [to that place] in breach of an oath which he had sworn by God and the cross, in which the prince himself believed, and had undermined his good faith towards himself. And so, said Saladin, he would show no mercy towards him. Taking Reynald apart from the others, he personally beheaded him. He gave instructions for the king and the other barons and nobles to be kept under guard in cells with proper respect.

After the count of Tripoli's arrival in Acre, the other Christians there all withdrew to the city of Tyre when they heard about the disaster which had befallen in the battle. Saladin arrived before Acre with his army and captured it [9 July]. He likewise reduced the other towns, forts and cities in the area around Acre, except for the city of Jerusalem into which many Christians had retreated.⁸⁴ **p. 143** He then laid siege to the city of Jerusalem, and maintained the siege for three months.⁸⁵ The city of Jerusalem was finally surrendered on 2 October, in the year of our Lord 1187; and the hostilities I referred to had lasted from 4 July 1187.

Urban, the pope of the Church of Rome, received this news on St Martin's Day in Ferrara and died from the pain of it.⁸⁶ Gregory [VIII] succeeded him, and

a further cross reliquary, the subject of Genoese piracy and papal ire, and noted by another of Caffaro's continuator's, Ogerio Pane (1197–1219). After his election as Latin emperor, Baldwin I sent gifts to Pope Innocent III and the Templars via the hand of Barozzi, the venerable master of the Templars in Lombardy. The objects included a cross reliquary weighing 10 marks of silver and decorated with precious stones. Unfortunately, the envoy was intercepted in the Ionian Sea by the Genoese pirates Enrico Belamuto and Guglielmo Portus. The pope complained to the consuls and bishop of Genoa but to little effect. Frolow, *La relique de la vraie croix*, no. 448, p. 381; Ogerio Pane, 'Annals', p. 93; Innocent III, *Die Register Innocenz III*, vol. 7, no. 147, pp. 234–36.

⁸³ 'Precepit' with the MSS, not 'precedit' with Belgrano. This famous scene is analysed by Eddé, *Saladin*, pp. 210–11; some sources indicate (as here) that Saladin killed Reynald himself, others suggest that he struck the first blow, leaving his mamluks to finish the task.

⁸⁴ After Acre surrendered, Jaffa, Caesarea, Arsuf, Haifa, Sidon and Jubayl capitulated over the next four weeks.

⁸⁵ The siege of Jerusalem actually took only 13 days; it started on 20 September 1187 and the city fell on 2 October, almost three months after the Battle of Hattin.

⁸⁶ 11 November, 1187. Urban III (1185–87) in fact died on 20 October, before the news of Hattin could have reached Europe.

survived for two months.⁸⁷ His successor was Clement III who sent messages to the emperor and to the kings of France and England to go to the aid of the Holy Land, preaching the cross everywhere.⁸⁸

The count of Tripoli reached the city of Tyre at the same time as the other people and the nobles I have mentioned, and found there a considerable number of Genoese who had come from both Byzantine territory⁸⁹ and from the region of Sicily. When the count and the barons encountered these Genoese, they told them that in God's name and in consideration of their religious commitment they should not allow the Holy Land to come under the Saracens' yoke; their duty was to offer them help in defending the Holy Land; nor should they look to those benefits which other kings had granted them in times gone by, but rather at those which the Genoese [now] deserved to enjoy. And so at that point they granted to the Genoese freedom to trade in Tyre, a third share of the income from commerce⁹⁰ and of the settlement of St George, and many other properties, which are included in a legal document made on that occasion by the count and the barons to the Genoese.⁹¹ **p. 144** At this the Genoese were moved by compassion, and promised, to the best of their ability, to provide them with help in defending the Holy Land. They did so bravely and to their utmost. Since the Lord wanted in His mercy to come to the aid of those who believe in Him, there was at that time in the city of Constantinople a certain Lord Conrad of Montferrat, who was well-regarded for his all-round honesty and intelligence, and was married to the sister of the Emperor Isaac.⁹² This Conrad killed an important baron in that region out of his duty to the Emperor Isaac, his kinsman, because he [the baron] wanted to capture territory from the emperor. The name of this baron who was killed was Branas.⁹³ Aware that the Greeks were making efforts to kill him because of the death of this Branas, Conrad consulted a Genoese confidant called Ansaldo di Buonvicino, and effected the hire of a ship belonging to a Genoese named Baldovino Erminio, in which he concealed himself

⁸⁷ Gregory VIII's pontificate lasted from 21 October to 17 December 1187.

⁸⁸ Clement III, pope 1187 to 1191. The most well-known preaching bull, however, is that of Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, trans. L. and J.S.C. Riley-Smith in *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1270* (London, 1981), pp. 63–67.

⁸⁹ 'Romania'.

⁹⁰ 'cathena'.

⁹¹ See **Documents 19a** and **b** below. Here the author conflates two separate concessions; the Genoese were granted trading privileges and an enclave in Tyre in 1187, and these were extended by Conrad of Montferrat in 1190.

⁹² Theodora Angelos.

⁹³ Alexios Branas, 'Verna' in the text was a very prominent Byzantine general who had defeated the Norman invaders in 1185; he attempted a coup against Isaac but Conrad prevented this, killing Branas and thereby acquiring powerful enemies in Constantinople. For this reason and a feeling that he had not been sufficiently rewarded for his work, he left the city. Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, pp. 129, 151.

and put into the port of Acre.⁹⁴ This took place during those times when the Holy Land was lost, in the year of our Lord 1188.

p. 145. When he was close to this city [13 July 1187], he realised that it was in Saracen hands, and was very fearful, as were the others on this ship.⁹⁵ He gave orders that he should be the sole spokesman. A Saracen launch sent by Saladin approached their ship, and asked those on board what their nationality was. Conrad responded as follows: 'We are Christians, and, what is more, Genoese merchants. When we heard of the victory which Saladin has won, we came confidently and in a spirit of trust to his land. So we ask for and would like to have a *sagitta*⁹⁶ from him as an assurance.' The Saracens returned to the shore and went to their lord. And when the Saracens put straight back to sea,⁹⁷ Lord Conrad had his ship towed out of the harbour and securely tied to the launch,⁹⁸ and with the arrival of favourable weather, his ship filled its sails and sailed to the city of Tyre.⁹⁹ The people in Tyre

⁹⁴ These are two interesting individuals. Ansaldo was clearly a figure of some ability because by April 1190 Conrad had made him castellan of Tyre. His rights and those of (by this time) his wife Elena, were reaffirmed by Henry of Champagne in September 1195. Elena was the daughter of Roger of Isolis, a member of one of Genoa's most important families. For Ansaldo, see **Documents 19b** and **24** below. Baldwin Ermenico – Baldwin 'the Armenian' can be found in Genoa in September 1186: *Oberto Scriba de Mercato*, eds C. Jona and M. Chiaudano, *Notai Liguri del. Sec. XII*, vol. 4 (Genoa, 1940), no. 157, p. 123. An inventory from 1250 lists him as the deceased owner of a property in the Genoese quarter of Tyre: 'Quatre titres des Génois à Acre et Tyr', p. 223. On Henry's crusade see F. Suard, 'Henri II, comte de Champagne, et la troisième croisade (1190–92), in *Les Champenois et la croisade*, eds Y. Bellenger and D. Quérueil (Paris, 1989), pp. 39–54.

⁹⁵ This is another story that the 'Short History' shares with the 'Lyon *Eracles*' Old French Continuation of William of Tyre', although the former includes details, such as the identity of Conrad's companions, that seem highly likely to be true. Thus, as in the story of Plebanus, we can suggest that at the very least, this account of Conrad's arrival in the Levant was in circulation. See *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, pp. 51–55. There is a briefer, albeit similar account in the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed H.E. Mayer (Stuttgart, 1962), pp. 261–62, trans. H.J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, Crusade Texts in Translation 3 (Aldershot, 1997), p. 36. Here, using the same pretence, Conrad promises to bring his wares into the city at first light next day, but slips away in the night. There is no reference to '*sagitta*'.

⁹⁶ '*sagitta*'. We have taken this to mean 'launch', more commonly spelt '*sagitte*' but a frequent enough usage. The meaning could be 'arrow' but we are unaware of any similar use of an arrow as a symbol of trust. A naval escort/pilot would be a logical request, since Christian ships often surrendered their rigging and rudder on entering a Muslim harbour. For a similar incident at Alexandria, see M.L. de Mas Latrie, ed., '*Chronique d'Ernoult et de Bernard le Trésorier*' (Paris, 1871, reprinted Famagusta, 1974), p. 233 and n. 2.

⁹⁷ Follow Belgrano's '*discedentibus*', rather than '*discendentibus*' in MSS.

⁹⁸ '*cum barcha taniçari*', N; '*toniçari*', B. The meaning is obscure in either case, and the translation offered is speculative. But we have followed Bellomo in preferring '*toniçari*' interpreting it as 'secure tightly', as perhaps in 'tournament'.

⁹⁹ See also Mack, 'Genoese Perspective of the Third Crusade', pp. 45–47.

greeted Conrad with due respect and with great joy when they heard of his arrival; by which I mean the count of Tripoli, Count Joscelin, Reynald, lord of Sidon, Pagan of Haifa and the lord of Caesarea, and the other nobles of the Holy Land.¹⁰⁰ They unanimously placed the city of Tyre under his tutelage, until such time as one of the four monarchs should arrive, the Emperor Frederick, the king of France [Philip Augustus], the king of England [Henry II] or the Lord King William [II] of Sicily. The count returned to Tripoli around that time, and died of an illness a few days later, as was pleasing to God, leaving his territory to Bohemond [III], son of prince Raymond of Antioch.¹⁰¹ Bohemond passed on the territory to his own son, likewise called Bohemond [IV].¹⁰²

p. 147. What follows was not written in the book, but I, Iacopo Doria, have briefly reproduced it in written form as I have discovered it from reliable sources.¹⁰³

Following the deaths of King Guy and his wife Sibylla, daughter of the late King Amalric, and through whose line of succession he became king, and of their four sons,¹⁰⁴ Isabella, sister of Sibylla and daughter of this same King Amalric by his second wife, the niece of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel, was given in marriage to Conrad of whom we have spoken, the marquess of Monferrat, in the year of our lord 1192. Through his wife's succession, he was given the title of king of Jerusalem, and jointly with her granted and confirmed many concessions to the commune of Genoa, which are recorded in the archive of the commune of Genoa.¹⁰⁵ Conrad was murdered by Assassins that same year, leaving his wife pregnant.¹⁰⁶ An only daughter named Maria was born to her. Conrad's widow Isabella was then married to Henry, count of Troyes in Champagne, by the efforts and manoeuvres of Richard, king of England, his uncle, who was in Outremer at that time.¹⁰⁷ Through this connection, he was given the title of king of Jerusalem, and granted and

¹⁰⁰ Count Raymond III of Tripoli; Joscelin III, titular count of Edessa, who was the brother of Reynald of Sidon's wife, Agnes of Courtenay (the mother of Baldwin IV and Sibylla); Reynald was, by 1187, a very senior lord in the kingdom of Jerusalem; Pagan, lord of Haifa and Walter II of Caesarea.

¹⁰¹ Bohemond III, prince of Antioch 1163–1201, son of Raymond of Poitiers.

¹⁰² Bohemond IV, prince of Antioch 1201–1205, 1208–16, 1219–33, and count of Tripoli 1189–1233.

¹⁰³ On Iacopo Doria, see Dotson, 'Genoese Civic Annals', pp. 68–70.

¹⁰⁴ They had not four sons, but two daughters, Alice and Marie, both of whom died young.

¹⁰⁵ '*privilegia*', See **Document 23**.

¹⁰⁶ Conrad in fact married Isabella on 24 November 1190 and was murdered on 28 April 1192.

¹⁰⁷ On this resolution of the succession to Jerusalem, see Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 201–03. Henry never took the title 'king' preferring to keep the title 'count of Troyes', perhaps because he maintained his lands in France as well or because of questions concerning the validity of his title.

confirmed many concessions to the Genoese commune, which are inscribed in the commune's archive.¹⁰⁸

When King Henry died [1197], **p. 148** Isabella was married to Aimery, king of Cyprus, the brother of King Guy, referred to earlier. Moreover Maria, the daughter of Conrad, marquis of Montferrat and of this same Isabella, was given in marriage to John, count of Brienne, who also was given the title of king of Jerusalem through this route.¹⁰⁹ She lived with him for two years after that [d. 1212]. He was a powerful and most courageous warrior, of amazingly large stature. King John had a daughter by her [also] called Isabella, who was given in marriage to the Emperor Frederick II [1225], on the strength of which he [Frederick] had himself declared king of Jerusalem. She lived with him for two years [d. 1228], and by her he had a son, King Conrad [IV], who was king of Jerusalem [1228–54] and Sicily [1251–54]. Lord Conradin was born [1252] to this same Conrad; King Charles [I of Anjou] captured him in battle and a few months later had him beheaded in Naples [1268].¹¹⁰ After his death, several men had themselves declared kings of Jerusalem. Lord Hugh of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, and his heirs gave themselves the title of kings of Jerusalem; Charles too, king of Sicily in the first place, and his son, another Charles, referred to themselves in written documents as kings of Jerusalem. But at the end of the day they all lost any ownership of it through the deeds of the Saracens, though they pointlessly hung on to just the title for the future.

p. 149 In the one thousand, two hundred and ninety-fourth year after the birth of our Lord, on the sixteenth day of July, Iacopo Doria, a distinguished man, well known for his nobility of character and his intellect, presented the aforesaid work about the capture of Jerusalem, Antioch, Tripoli and many other cities,¹¹¹ as is recorded in writing above, in the presence of the noble lords Iacopo di Carcano, the *podestà* of the commune, Simone di Grumello, captain of the people,¹¹² abbot of the people, and the elders of this same city. They, observing what a major and praiseworthy piece of work this is, took counsel, commended the work, and decreed that it be bound into this present record, in that section which the aforesaid Iacopo Doria might select. And Iacopo, who has never faltered in his efforts on behalf of the commune, had it chained in this section of the current chronicle.

I Guglielmo de Caponibus, notary, was in attendance when the above was presented, discussed and declared official, and have transcribed it as above.

¹⁰⁸ See **Document 24**.

¹⁰⁹ John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, 1210–12. On his career see G.J.M. Perry, “‘Scandalia... tam in oriente quam in occidente’: The Briennes in East and West, 1213–1221”, *Crusades*, 10 (2011), pp. 63–78.

¹¹⁰ Conradin was executed on the orders of Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily (1266–82) in 1268. See J. Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth Century Europe* (Harlow, 1998), pp. 135–36, 218–19.

¹¹¹ This is surely a reference to Caffaro, *LCO*.

¹¹² Belgrano, vol. 11, p. 149, n. 1 observes that the name of Bonanato di Fazi, ‘*abbas conestabulorum felicitatis societatis populi Ianue*’ is missing.

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Selected Documents

1. 1098–1169, Grant of privileges in Antioch by Bohemond I and subsequent confirmation by his successors

(a) 1098, Bohemond I's concession

(CD, vol. 1, no. 7, pp. 11–12; *RRH*, no. 12, p. 2)¹

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

This is the deed of grant which I, Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard duke of Apulia, arranged to execute and confirm. Whereby I Bohemond being of sound mind and of my own volition grant in perpetuity in the first instance to all the men of Genoa in the city of Antioch the church of St John which is on the paved street which runs in a straight line to the basilica of St Peter, together with a trading station and well, and 30 houses which are in the quarter adjacent to the aforesaid church with all their appurtenances with no liability to rent or customary charges. By this deed I grant all the above to have and to hold to you, the aforesaid men [of Genoa], and to those to whom you may pass it on according to your own tradition. Because of your personal distinction, I exempt you from all the usual charges or dues or jurisdiction which other persons have imposed or shall subsequently impose in Antioch and in all the territory which attaches to it.

Executed on 14 July in the 1098th year after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the sixth year of the indiction. Sealed and signed by me, Bohemond, who ordered this deed of grant to be drawn up, and asked to sign as witnesses, Bishop Adrianus,² Robertus de Surla Valle, Robertus de Ansa, Rodolphus Rufus, Boelli de Carnoto [their seals also attached].

(b) 1098, Genoese commitment to Bohemond I

(CD, vol. 1, no. 8, pp. 12–13; *RRH*, no. 16, p. 2)

This is the agreement which the dignitaries³ of Genoa, Anselmo Rascherio, Lanfranco Drubesci, Lamberto Mago, Corrado son of Taione, Bellacosa son of Adelardo, Ottone Clerico and Lamberto Medico made with the Lord Bohemond in exchange for the concession which he granted them in Antioch and his gift to all

¹ For a detailed commentary on this and **Document 1b**, see Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes*, pp. 84–87, 308–11.

² Hagenmeyer questions whether this is a bishop called Adrianus or the bishop of Adria; he is not mentioned elsewhere in sources for the First Crusade.

³ ‘boni homines’.

the citizens of Genoa; namely, that the aforementioned, and all the other Genoese who are in the city of Antioch or in a place where they can be of assistance, will help him to hold and defend the city against any who might attack it, and in levying a charge on anyone inside the city not contributing, and on anyone outside it depending on the [level of] security they enjoyed;⁴ [all this] with the exception of the count of Saint-Gilles; if the count wants to seize Antioch we will offer our best advice towards a settlement following our own judgment, but we will not assist either party [against the other].

(c) 1101, Tancred

(CD, vol. 1, no. 12; pp. 16—18, no. 47; *RRH*, no. 35, p. 5)

I, Tancred, pledge to the Genoese church of San Lorenzo a one-third share of the whole revenue of St Symeon on exports which lawfully leave it by sea or land; an enclave in Antioch together with the church of St John, in good faith and with no evil intent, just as Bohemond delineated them, from the stream to the enclave of the men of Amalfi, without any encroachment on the estate of the church of St Peter of Antioch; a one-third share of the traffic of Latakia, by land and sea, as at St Symeon, and an enclave similarly equipped with a church as at Antioch; and likewise in all the cities and harbours on the coast which I am able to take with your assistance or that of other Genoese who may come here. Whether in the aforementioned territories and harbours or other territories, which, with God's approval, I may be able to capture with or without your help, I shall neither levy nor cause to be levied any customs duties on you, or the men of Savona or Noli.⁵ In the event that anyone lodges a complaint against any of you as a result of anything granted under the arrangements mentioned above, I will provide redress within 30 days of receiving the complaint, unless I am prevented by a legal objection. I will then make amends within another 30 days after such a legal objection has been dealt with unless the matter is waived with the consent of the plaintiff.

Guglielmo Carpenter, Ricardo Conestabile, Guglielmo Acatapan, Ruggiero di Florenza, Guglielmo Malcovenent swore to Tancred that they would keep the above undertaking. Done in the year of our Lord 1101, on 22 November, in the ninth year of the indiction. [Signed by Tancred and witnessed by Genoese named except for Ruggiero di Florenza, for whom Oliverus substituted.]⁶

⁴ The Latin text reads '*tollendum qui in civitate erunt sine obsonio qui extra secundum salutem illorum*'.

⁵ This inclusion of the men of Savona and Noli, coastal towns around 30–40 miles west of Genoa, indicates the close relationship with these nearby Ligurian settlements. Similar clauses exist in the charters for Jerusalem, below.

⁶ This text is based on two manuscripts in the *Liber privilegiorum ecclesiae Ianuensis*, ed. D. Puncuh (Genoa, 1962), no. 25, pp. 42 and 385. It differs significantly from that in *RRH* no. 35, dated 23 August 1101, based on the other surviving manuscripts, and which grants the concessions '*consulibus Ianuensium vel cui dederint*', 'to the Genoese consuls

(d) 1127, Bohemond II

(*LI*, vol. 1/2, no. 337, pp. 152–54; *RRH*, no. 119, pp. 29–30)

In the name of the Holy Trinity, three in one, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Amen. I Bohemond, son of Bohemond the Great, by the grace of God prince of Antioch, grant as a concession to you the Genoese the privileges which my father Bohemond granted to you and confirmed on oath that you should keep and retain in perpetuity, and subject [always] to preservation of the rights of [the church of] St Peter, neither I nor anyone on my instructions will deprive you of your holdings in Antioch or St Symeon or Latakia, wherever they may be; in Antioch one enclave which lies between the two watercourses on both sides of the street as it was first designated, together with a trading station; in Latakia whatever you were [originally] granted, that is one enclave and the rest, and a one-third share of the port revenues; with the one third share in [the revenues of] St Symeon which you currently hold. If anyone offends against your rights with regard to these privileges, if a complaint is brought to my attention, I will give you redress or mediation, unless I am reasonably prevented. If I make any conquests with your assistance, I will grant you occupation rights there on a par with those you have in Latakia. I grant to you, and to all Genoese who offer me this same loyal protection, all the above as a gift and concession with title of ownership. I shall not deprive you of your lives or property, nor will I make seizures to your disadvantage, except as a decision of the system of justice which is established in my principality. If there is such a legal incident, I will provide you with redress in the form of requital or an agreed settlement within 15 days. I exempt you from taxes on trade in all towns which I now hold and which I might acquire in the future with your assistance and that of the men of Savona and Noli who provide me with this same degree of support.

So that my grant of concessions should remain well founded and reliable in perpetuity, I authenticate it with the seal of my authority and reinforce it beyond doubt, in the presence of these witnesses, whose signatures appear below: Lord

and to whomsoever they may grant them'. The concessions include an additional third of the revenues at Latakia, and a more detailed specification of the enclave / '*ruga*' there, 'with the church, from the property where the well is to the harbour wall with the fort of St Elias and caves, as well as in all the cities and harbours which might be captured with the help of the Genoese.' A further privilege included is an estate in Gibelletum 'by the harbour, with a villa outside it'. Gibelletum (Gibellum minor/Jubayl) was not captured until 1104; Caffaro, *LCO*, p. 122, notes however that it was part of the territory of Tripoli, not Antioch, and that Raymond of Saint-Gilles gave the Genoese one third of it after the conquest. Tancred acquired Gibellum major, or Jableh, for the principality of Antioch, in 1109, with Genoese help (Caffaro, '*Annals*', p. 57). The dating of the version used by Röhrich cannot be correct, and there are major doubts about the authenticity of the text. The witness Oliverus appears as Olivier de Alvei in this alternative version, which has a number of additional witnesses supporting Tancred.

Bernard, by God's grace patriarch of Antioch;⁷ Pons, archdeacon; Radulfus, chancellor; Rainaldus Masuerus, constable;⁸ Hugo de Angerivilla; Osmundus dux; Guglielmo, *vicecomes*; Nicola Embriaco; Guglielmo Bruno; Anfosso Faitavant; Guglielmo Bonusfancellus; Otto Murtius. Executed in the chamber of the lord patriarch of Antioch. December 1127.

(e) 1144, Raymond of Poitiers

(LI, vol. 1/2, no. 338, pp. 154–55; RRH, no. 228, p. 57)

This document confirms in the names of Raymond of Poitiers, and his wife Constance, daughter of Bohemond II, all the privileges previously granted to the Genoese in the principality of Antioch by Bohemond I, Tancred and Bohemond II, without a detailed list. The text is not translated here.

(f) 1169, Bohemond III

(LI, vol. 1/2, no. 340, pp. 157–60; RRH, no. 471, p. 124)⁹

In the name of the Holy Trinity, three in one, Father Son and Holy Spirit, Amen. Let it be known to all men, now and in the future, that I Bohemond, son of Prince Raymond, by the grace of God prince of Antioch, confirm as a concession to all Genoese everything they hold in Antioch, Latakia and in the port of St Symeon, just as they were allocated in the grant of privileges by the Lord Prince Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard. They are as follows: in Antioch one enclave, with the church of St John, which is between the two waterways with a road on both sides; in Latakia, a trading post and an enclave and everything else they hold there; and a one-third share of the harbour dues in Latakia and a third in St Symeon. If I make any further acquisitions with their assistance, I grant that in the places I acquire they shall have [the equivalent of] what they have in Latakia. If anyone offends against their rights either in these places or elsewhere, and a complaint is made to me, I will provide either redress or an agreed settlement within 40 days, unless I am prevented by some valid reason. And once I have overcome any such impediment, I shall make sure their damages and losses are made good within 15

⁷ Bernard of Valence was patriarch of Antioch between 1100 and 1135; he had been chaplain to Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy during the crusade. See Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 21–30.

⁸ This is Reynald le Mazoir, later lord of the castle of Margat captured in an episode related in Caffaro, *LCO*, p. 119 above. Reynald was an important figure in the later revolt by Princess Alice because he was entrusted by King Fulk of Jerusalem with the administration of the principality of Antioch in 1133. See Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 48–49.

⁹ Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*, pp. 211–17, suggests that this document dates from the early thirteenth century, although see n. 213, p. 101 above with regard to his comments about a senate in Genoa.

days by agreed settlement or redress according to the usages and procedures of my court.

I grant that all Genoese may trade in any territory which I currently hold and which I might acquire in the future with their help. It is my further wish that the Genoese themselves and all their goods should be safe in all my territory. I will safeguard, protect and defend them and all their possessions. Since I hold them in high regard and I wish them to visit my territory more frequently than they usually do and to settle in it, I grant on the advice of my barons that I will respect all the above in regard to the Genoese. To give permanence and durability to these undertakings, I guarantee and confirm this promise to them with my oath and princely seal. And in response to my oath and renewal of this grant of privileges which I have made to the Genoese, Lanfranco di Alberico, a most exalted citizen of the aforesaid city and the respected ambassador of its whole senate and its consuls, has sworn to me on behalf of himself and the commune of this most renowned city of the Genoese that they will assist me, cherish and enhance my standing, defend my subjects, their possessions and everything which is mine to the utmost of their ability wherever they can, and protect and support me against all parties.

Witnesses to this deed are Silvester, kinsman of the prince; Robertus son of Gaufridus; Rogerius de Surdaval,¹⁰ Eschivardus, steward;¹¹ Willelmus de Monci, steward;¹² Willelmus Tirellus, marshal; Bonablus; Iohannes de Salquin; Willielmus Balfre dux; Gaufridus Falsardi; Wilielmus de Crosi; Radulfus de Neun. This concession was granted by the hand of Bernard the chancellor, 1169.

2. The 'Golden Inscription', 1104–1105

(a) Text of the inscription

(*LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 59, pp. 97–98; Mayer, vol. 1, no. 28, pp. 132–36; *RRH*, no. 46, p. 9)¹³

The oath of loyalty which the Genoese made to the Lord Baldwin,¹⁴ king of the holy city of Jerusalem.¹⁵

On 25 May, in the year 1105 after the incarnation of the Lord, when Lord Daimbert was patriarch with oversight of the church of Jerusalem, and Baldwin was king, God granted to his glorious Sepulchre the city of Acre by the hand of his servants

¹⁰ Roger is described by William of Tyre as a powerful Antiochene noble, William of Tyre, 783; trans., vol. 2, p. 210.

¹¹ 'dapifer'.

¹² 'pincerna'.

¹³ For the intense debate concerning this inscription and the associated privileges, see the discussion in the Introduction, pp.23–26 above.

¹⁴ King Baldwin I.

¹⁵ This rubric is omitted in one of the manuscripts, and clearly applies to **2b** below.

the Genoese, who came in the first army of Franks and courageously took a leading part in the capture of Jerusalem, Antioch, Latakia and Tartus, and took St Symeon and Jubayl by themselves, and added Caesarea and Arsuf to the rule of Jerusalem. For this reason the undefeated King Baldwin granted to this glorious nation a ward¹⁶ in Jerusalem with the right of permanent tenure, another in Jaffa, and a one-third share of Caesarea, Arsuf and Acre respectively.¹⁷

(b) 1104, Genoese oath of loyalty to Baldwin I

(*LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 60, pp. 98–99, *RRH*, no. 46, p. 9)

Let it be clear to the whole world that we the consuls of the Genoese swear to you, Baldwin, king and defender of the holy city of Jerusalem, that neither we, nor anyone else by our design, will deprive you of life or limb or cause to be seized any of the territory¹⁸ which the kingdom currently possesses or is successful in acquiring in the maritime regions to the areas east and south of the city of Sidon; or if, and may it never happen, anyone should attempt to usurp your rule in the aforesaid areas, none of our people who are at that time in your lands will refuse to come to your help and defence against all comers, once they are made aware [of such an event] by you or by one of your subjects; and we will give this same promise of support to whomsoever you might have given the territory already mentioned.

(c) 1104, Baldwin I's concessions to Genoa¹⁹

(*LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 61, pp. 99–102; Mayer, vol. 1, no. 29, pp. 137–44; *RRH*, no. 43, p. 8)

The grant which Baldwin, king of Judaea and Jerusalem, made in the overseas lands to the church of San Lorenzo in Genoa and to the people of Genoa.

I Baldwin, king of Judaea and Jerusalem, and defender of the most (Manuscript G omits 'most') Holy Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, grant under oath to the Genoese church of San Lorenzo one plot [of land] in the holy city of Jerusalem and another in Jaffa, by my own free decision and that of the Genoese likewise; and [I also grant to them] a third part of the city of Arsuf within the walls and a third part of its territory stretching for one league

¹⁶ 'vicum'.

¹⁷ For these events, see both Caffaro, 'Annals', pp. 51–57 and *LCO*, pp. 122–23.

¹⁸ 'vel aliquid de honore regni quod modo habet...' 'Honor' very clearly means 'territory' here.

¹⁹ We follow Antonella Rovere's text in *I Libri Iurium*. Mayer presents in parallel an alternative text based on a manuscript in the Biblioteca Civica Berio di Genova, dated 1795, known as G, and copied from a lost predecessor. Rovere describes this text as 'modificato in epoca moderna.' The divergences from the *I Libri* text in Mayer's version of G are however noted in parentheses in our translation.

[around it including] one house on that territory, and likewise in the city of Caesarea; and a third part of the city of Acre, with one-third of the revenues from the harbour, the city and the land stretching for one league [around it], and 300 bezants annually from contracts exchanging properties,²⁰ and one-third part of every city which with God's help and the support of 50 or more (G omits '50 or more') Genoese, with a third part of the revenue of the territory of any such cities extending for one league [around them], and their choice of the third best house in each, and one-third of the city of Cairo with the three of the better houses which they would select if I capture and secure possession of it with the help of the Genoese. (G reads '... for one league [around them], and one house in each except Cairo, if I capture and secure possession of it with the help of the Genoese.') And I swear to you the Genoese that neither I (G omits 'neither I') nor anyone else will by my design deprive you of life or limb or seize anything of yours; and if it should happen that I or one of my vassals should find ourselves in such a situation, within 30 days of being notified by your ambassador, I will not refuse to make restitution to you in the absence of any over-riding cause or impediment. You will pay no *commercium* in the whole territory which I control or am successful in acquiring, nor will the men from Savona, Noli, or Albenga, or from the house of Gandolfo the Pisan, son of Fiopia.²¹

And if one of your people or anyone from the communities listed above should happen to die in any place to which our power stretches or is extended in the future, I shall respect his directions for his estate; but if he dies suddenly without a will, I shall not use force to take away anything of his (G omits 'of his') from his associates. If through love of God (G omits 'through love of God') any of your galleys remains in my territory, I shall not deprive [those on board] of their booty.

Hugh of Tiberias, Hugh of Saint Abraham, Gervase the seneschal, Walter Mahomet, Frederick of Corbeil, Pisellis *vicecomes*, Godfrey of the Tower of David, Gotman, and to whomsoever I pass on my territory, I shall make sure

²⁰ ['*com*']*mutatione casaliū*’.

²¹ Variants are '*Siopia*', '*Tropie*'.

they give you the same degree of security.²² Two men made the oath to the Genoese on the king's behalf.²³

3. 1109, Privileges granted in the county of Tripoli,

(*LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 119, pp. 182–83; Mayer, vol. 1, no. 35, pp. 154–56; *RRH*, no. 55, pp. 11–12)

The grant of Jubayl, the fort of Roger the constable, and of the one-third part of Tripoli which Bertrand, count of Saint-Gilles, made to the church of San Lorenzo in Genoa.

Let it be known to all sons of the universal Church, both alive now and in the future that I, Bertrand, count of Saint-Gilles, grant and hand over as the share of the church of San Lorenzo in Genoa the whole of Jubayl with all its appurtenances, the fort of Roger the constable with all its appurtenances, and a third part of Tripoli from one coast to the other, as defined by the 'King's Mosque'²⁴ with the islands belonging to the city and the harbour, into the hands of Guglielmo Embriaco, Oberto Usodimare, Ingone Pedegola, and Ansaldo Capo di Brugo; and this grant

²² The identity of these witnesses is interesting and all have been identified by Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* [all references here derive from this work]. Hugh of Tiberias was from Fauquembergues, near Saint-Omer. He was veteran of the First Crusade and died in 1106 (pp. 211–12). Hugh of Saint Abraham was another Fleming from the settlement of Rebecques, he probably died in 1107 (pp. 212–13); Gervase was from the Soissons region of northern France and became lord of Tiberias after Hugh's death, noted above. Gervase was executed by Tughtigin of Damascus in 1108 (pp. 201–202); Walter Mahomet was probably a converted Muslim in the service of Baldwin I and attested until 1115 (p. 233); Frederick of Corbeil was noted in charters of King Philip I of France prior to the crusade (p. 196); Pisellis may have come from the Boulogne region and he came to hold considerable lands in the central Judea region before he died around 1119 (pp. 220–21); Godfrey (Gunfrid) of the Tower of David was castellan of this important site. He was captured by the Egyptians in 1107 and released in 1137! (pp. 206–207); Gotman of Brussels fought at the second Battle of Ramla in 1102 and can be found in sources until 1115 (p. 205).

²³ Only one of the older manuscripts, B, carries the dating paragraph, 'In the one thousand, one hundred and fourth year after the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ'. G reads 'Executed in Jerusalem in the year of our Lord 1109', with the signatures of Hugh of Tiberias, Hugh of Saint Abraham, Gervase the seneschal, Godfrey of Turre [the Tower of David] and Frederick of Corbeil. Mayer's preferred reading is '*hii omnes*', meaning that all the witnesses swore, rather than '*ii (2) homines*'. This last sentence precedes the signatures in some manuscripts.

²⁴ '*bafumaria*' is defined as 'mosque' by C. du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Paris 1840–50), col. 519c. It appears to have been a landmark defining the land boundary of the area otherwise bounded by the sea to be divided between Bertrand and the Genoese.

was made by me and accepted by them in the presence of King Baldwin [I] of Jerusalem. I have also promised them that if anyone should have the audacity to overturn this grant through tyrannical usurpation or by any form of trickery or by any means whatsoever, I will offer myself as a support to them and protect them to the best of my ability, allowing no pretext to stand in my way. I have made the further concession to them that no man of Genoa or Savona or Noli or Albenga, from Nice to Portovenere,²⁵ nor any Lombard joined with them as an ally will pay any tax in my territories with the exception of those whose trade is to carry pilgrims from here to other destinations, and in their case [tax will be payable] only in respect of the pilgrims themselves. I have further agreed with them that none of these men shall lose limbs or life through [the action of] any of my men, or suffer injustice or be handed over into captivity or in any way inconvenienced; [but] in the event of such a thing happening, deliberately or through ignorance [of the facts] and it is brought to my attention, within 15 days' grace period or less, what needs to be put right will be put right by me, and what needs to be made good will be made good by me. I, Bertrand, count of Saint-Gilles, have laid my own hand to an oath to them that this land delineated above and this gift of land can be understood to be subject to safeguards as set out in writing above, with absolutely no fraudulent intent, as well as any other [land] which they may still succeed in acquiring from me personally in my territory, I have also included in my treaty with them that whoever is the rightful owner of this estate when I am about to die will swear as I have sworn and will give them similar safeguards. This charter was executed on 26 July 1109, in the second year of the indiction.

4. 1138, Genoese protection of Mediterranean cities, including a pact with the king of Morocco

(*LI*, vol. 1/1. nos 14–18, pp. 22–29)

(a) Treaty with Fos

(no. 14, pp. 22–23) In the consulate of Buonvassallo di Ottone, Bellamuto, Lanfranco Pevere and Ansaldo Mallone. In the year after the incarnation of our lord Jesus Christ 1138, in the fifteenth year of the indiction, in the month of July. We the men of Fos²⁶ will from this day forwards protect the Genoese and their dominion²⁷ by sea and land, and we will protect the men and property of the allies

²⁵ Read '*sive Nolenensis aut Albinganensis*' with B, not '*Nabolensis aut Ambiganensis*'. This clause represents an extension of that noted as applying to just Savona and Noli above in **Document 1c** and **1d**..

²⁶ Near Marseille, at the mouth of the Rhône. Epstein, p. 48, discusses these agreements.

²⁷ '*potentatus*' means 'seigneurial control'.

of the Genoese. Whoever is a friend of the Genoese will be our friend, so that we will not take hostile action against them; and whoever is their enemy will be our enemy, on the basis that we will make our best endeavours to take hostile action against them courageously and in good faith as the consuls *de comuni* of Genoa may direct us. We will not overcharge²⁸ the men of Genoa or their allies about whom the current or future Genoese consuls *de comuni* have notified us; we will see to their safety and security in our territory; and we will contribute a levy of 20 *minae*²⁹ of corn annually for 10 years, either to the church of San Lorenzo or to the commune. If however they continue to maintain peace for us with the Saracens of the king of Morocco beyond the 10 years, or they say they will provide us with protection, we shall continue to contribute the aforesaid levy for as long as we enjoy peace or protection through the efforts of the Genoese.³⁰ We shall join military campaigns of the Genoese in accordance with the instructions of the current and future consuls *de comuni*, and we will settle the account with the men of Genoa for any criminal acts we have committed against them at the end of the 10 year period. We shall maintain and respect peace with the subjects of the king of Morocco and for 10 years we will use our best endeavours to safeguard their property and their lives at sea and by land. We will not equip ships which sail in our territory for pillaging raids on Saracens unless [their owners] give a prior oath not to commit acts hostile to the subjects of the king of Morocco.

If however by unhappy chance we contravene any of the above, within 40 days of hearing from a Genoese envoy or seeing a sealed letter from the commune we shall make proportionate compensation. We shall honour all of these provisions, save to the extent that they are varied by instruction from the current or future consuls of Genoa.

(b) Treaties with Marseille, Fréjus, Hyères and Antibes

(no. 15, pp. 23–25; no. 16, pp. 25–26; no. 17, pp. 27–28; no. 18, pp. 28–29, respectively)

All four treaties are dated July 1138, are worded virtually identically with the Fos treaty above with minor differences, and not translated here. Marseille and Antibes do not commit in these documents to financial contributions to Genoa. Marseille commits to providing 100 men to serve in Genoese ships on naval expeditions, retaining control of their force when naval action is against Saracens and on land-based campaigns.

²⁸ A similar provision in the agreement with Marseille (*LI*, vol. 1, no. 16, pp. 25–26) reads ‘*ad ferias enim supra usum....non accipiemus... nisi denarios novem quod in usum est*’, this seems to be a commitment not to overcharge visiting Genoese on feast days.

²⁹ ‘*mina*’ = a dry measure, either the measuring vessel itself or its contents. It can also mean ‘the right to check weights and measures’.

³⁰ The king of Morocco probably refers to Caliph ‘Abd al-Mu’min, Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 201–16.

5. 1146, Treaties of alliance between Genoa and Alfonso VII of León-Castile and Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona respectively, regarding Almería and Tortosa

(a) *Treaty of alliance with Alfonso VII; Alfonso's obligations*

(LI, vol. 1/6, no. 932, pp. 3–6)

Regarding what was done at Almería.³¹

In the name of the Lord, Amen. To the honour of Almighty God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. I, Alfonso, emperor³² of Spain, make an agreement and treaty with you, men of Genoa, to assemble an army to the best of my ability [for operations] throughout the whole month of May of next year [1147]. Over the duration of that month I shall set off on the journey to Almería in a spirit of trust, and with no deceit or evil intent, and remain with that army on the basis that I shall agree with the consuls of the Genoese commune who will be with the army and who remain with it, subject to any reasonable over-riding cause placed in our way by God or by agreement between them and ourselves. I shall bring no force against you, nor shall I oblige you to go anywhere against your will. I shall protect you and your possessions in good faith to the best of my ability. May you have, freely and with no impairment, a third part of any cities and towns with their chattels and appurtenances which we either capture together or which surrender to myself or to you, with two-thirds reserved to me. Neither I nor my successor will either by our devising or by our acts bring it about that the commune of Genoa loses its one-third share. Furthermore I shall oblige those of my vassals to whom I may entrust my share to swear – and let my successors do likewise – that they will never scheme or take actions to cause you at any time to lose your one-third share; and if anyone should want to take it away from you, that they would without deceit or evil intent help you defend and retain possession of it.

Let your church have in the spiritual sphere that same share as your city has in temporal matters. In all those cities of which I take possession in which a one-third share is not due to you, may you have a church with sufficient real estate and dwellings to support five presbyters with their attendant priests in appropriate style, a trading post³³ of the highest quality, and an oven, a bath and a good garden, and in every land I now possess or may possess in the future you and the men under your jurisdiction and your property will be safe and secure. You will pay no harbour dues or road tolls or mooring tax in my whole territorial and marine domain.³⁴ For the immediate future, I shall give to your envoy 10,000 *marabotini*

³¹ See *CAT*, above, pp. 127–32 for Caffaro's account of the expedition to Almería as well as Introduction, pp. 37–38.

³² For use of the title 'emperor' see p. 129, n. 11 above.

³³ '*alfondega*'.

³⁴ Respectively, '*portaticum*', '*pedaticum*', and '*ribaticum*'.

³⁵ to defray your costs on siege-engines, within 31 days of his arrival, and a further 10,000 to your envoy or envoys in Barcelona by next Easter. Whatever galleys are with the army will be reckoned to belong to you except those which the count of Barcelona brings at his own expense.³⁶ While we are on campaign together, I shall conclude no agreement or treaty regarding the surrender to me of any city or town in the coastal regions or about getting possession of booty, or about any reduction in the Genoese expeditionary force without seeking the views of the consuls with that force. And if between the next Feast of St Martin³⁷ which is approaching and the time the force returns to Genoa I make any territorial gains outside the terms I have stated, I grant and concede a one-third share to you the Genoese.

My son will swear the preceding oath when he has attained the age of 14, at a time to meet the wishes of the consuls of the commune of Genoa.³⁸ Furthermore those Genoese who will possess that one-third share will recognise the overlordship of the emperor and his heirs, on the basis however that they hold that share freely and with no impairment, with the consequence that those Genoese swear to my heirs to safeguard and loyally defend in good faith their two-thirds' share, and my heirs swear likewise to the commune of Genoa in respect of their one-third.

I shall honour all these commitments in good faith, with no deception, subject only to just impediment of God's devising, or by agreement with the consuls of the commune of Genoa who are with the expeditionary force at the time. If by chance, and may it never happen, something stands in my way, and I cannot come, let my son fulfil the aforesaid agreement and treaty with my counts and leading nobles. Any additions or deletions which might be desired by us or our heir and the Genoese consuls may be made to the whole of the preceding agreement either in person or through our ambassadors.

The emperor validated the foregoing agreement and made a legally binding promise on the strength of his own integrity and honesty that he and his heirs would abide by what is written above. Then he ordered his barons to swear before him on the Gospel that he and his heirs would abide by the terms set out above.³⁹

³⁵ 'decem milia marabetinos marinos melechinos visifinos murechinos'. Ducange gives a range of variant spellings of this widely circulated gold coin, and, with the exception of 'visifinos' this looks like such a list, to allow for use of coins of different provenance. 'Visifinos' does not appear in the dictionaries but probably means 'of pure gold' or 'in mint condition.'

³⁶ This is an acceptance of Genoese command over Alfonso's men on Genoese ships.

³⁷ 11 November, 1146.

³⁸ Alfonso's eldest son was Sancho (later Sancho III of Castile); on his inclusion in documents such as this, see Reilly, *Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII*, pp. 104–106.

³⁹ The names of those who swore were the following: Ermenegildo IV, count of Urgel, signed the oath in person. Then followed Count Amalric; Count Rodericus Gomez; Veremundus Petrez son of the count of Galicia; Guarsia Guarsez son of the count of Nazera; Guarsiaz Gomez his brother; Fernandus Iohannis de Galicia; Didacus Iohannes;

*(b) Treaty of alliance with Alfonso VII of León-Castile; Genoese obligations**(LI, vol. 1/6, no. 933, pp. 6–7)*About the same subject.⁴⁰

In the year 1146 after the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the month of September, in the eighth year of the indiction.

We the Genoese will assemble an expeditionary force over the duration of the month of May of next year on behalf of the commune and we shall in good faith undertake the journey to Almería through the whole of that month with no deception or bad intent. Within that expeditionary force we shall have siege engines and other things which in our judgment – that is to say the judgment of the consuls of the Genoese commune in office at that time – which are necessary for these operations. We shall stay with that expeditionary force as we shall agree with the emperor, unless we are prevented from coming by some just impediment imposed by God. We shall protect the emperor and his possessions in good faith to the best of our ability, on the condition agreed between us and the emperor, that of those cities and towns, with the real estate attaching to them which we might capture with the emperor, or which surrender to him or us, the emperor should have two-thirds, with one-third reserved for us, which we would hold by right, freely and without impairment. We shall not conspire or take actions to cause the emperor to lose his two-thirds' share. We shall impose an oath on those men to whom we entrust our share that they will not connive at the emperor losing his two-thirds, and that they would in good faith and with no deception help him defend them against anyone who might wish to take them from him. Furthermore our church should have the same share in the spiritual domain as our city has in temporal matters. And so long as we are on the expedition we shall make no

and Raimundus Iohannes, his brother; Festugo, his son; Poncius Deminerba; Petrus Rex grandson of Garsia Rex; Rodrigo Monez de Gorman; Gonzaldus de Marainum; Guarsias; Fortumo de Daroca; Aprilis de Leone; Didacus Monioz; Masetus, Albarus Petrez son of the count of Lara, Didacus Paganus son of the count of Maiera; Nicola Pelagius; Mumoteco; Rodrigo Gonzalvo de Oleo; Gutterro; Rodriez, his son; Gonzalus Padela; Ferrandus Rodriet de Benevivere; Rodrigo Moniez Lavella; Fernandus Gutez; Boiso Furthomo Momor; Guarsias Petrez; Germanus Nazareth; Petrus Veremundus de Castellanos; Petrus Gordon; Rodricus Petrez son of Petrus Braiol; Didacus Fernandus de Leone; Garsias Albaro de Alcubela; Petrus Veremundus; Petrus Anfusus; Martinus Diez; Nuno Didacus Moniz; Count Lupus; Pelagius Curvus; Didacus Muioz; Arias Calvus; Martinus Munioz; Balasco Melendez; Petrus Arcero; Melendus Fagian; Balasco Garsie; Rodericus Gonzalvez; Petrus Padela; Rodericus Pedrez de Roda; Count Poncius; Count Rainirius Frolez; Count Rodericus Pedroz; Nuno Pedrez Alferiz Imperatoris; Lop Lopici.

These are the names of those who [still] should swear: Count Fernandus de Galletia; count Poncius de Zamora et Salamantica; Count Froles de Asturica; Pelagius Curvus, Gonzalvus Fernandus, Albarus Odricus, Gotterus Fernandus; Lopo Lopez; Didacus Monioz. [*The names in this lengthy witness list are not included in the index.*]

⁴⁰

In other words, what was done regarding Almería.

treaty or agreement for any city or town to be surrendered to us, or regarding our accepting money, or about reducing the emperor's military force without the consent of the emperor if he is there, or [in his absence] that of his heir.

We the Genoese will not be bound by this oath to make an expedition beyond Almería. If we do not reach agreement with the count of Barcelona, we shall not be bound by this oath.⁴¹ We shall comply with all this in good faith and without deception, unless through just impediment imposed by God the emperor does not come, on the authority of the emperor [himself], or of his close advisers, or of his ambassador from the known corps of ambassadors.⁴² And if between St Martin's Day following and the expedition's return to Genoa we make any conquests within his maritime area of influence, we will give two-thirds to the emperor, reserving one-third for ourselves. Additions or deletions to the whole of the preceding treaty may be made in accordance with what might have been agreed by the consuls of the commune of Genoa with the emperor or his ambassadors or ambassador.

(c) Treaty of alliance with Ramon Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona; Genoese commitments

(LI, vol. 1/6, no. 934, pp. 8–11)

Regarding Tortosa.

In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

We the Genoese undertake to make an expedition on behalf of the commune immediately on our return after the emperor's expedition before we return to Genoa.⁴³ We will proceed to the siege and capture of Tortosa and will lay siege to no other city or settlement⁴⁴ from the Ebro to Almería [in alliance] with any other nation without the authority or permission of the count of Barcelona. If however it were to come about that by ourselves we receive [in surrender] and retained possession of any city or settlement within these aforesaid limits, we will grant two-thirds to the count and retain one-third for ourselves.

We shall equip the expeditionary force with siege-engines and everything else which is – in our judgment, that is to say the judgment of the consuls of the commune of Genoa in office at the time – necessary for these operations. We shall remain on this expedition around Tortosa with the count of Barcelona or with his commanders so long as they remain on the expedition, unless he does not come

⁴¹ Thus the campaign to Almería was contingent upon the participation of the count of Barcelona too.

⁴² *'eius missi certorum missorum'*.

⁴³ The attack on Almería.

⁴⁴ *'castrum'* means essentially a fortified settlement which is not a city. It is translated according to context; sometimes, as here, as 'settlement', elsewhere as 'town' or 'fort'. For a helpful note on this, albeit in relation to a later document, see *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens: The Albigensian Crusade and its Aftermath*, ed. and trans. W.A. and M.D. Sibly (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. xxxi–xxxii.

by reason of some just impediment imposed by God or by the decision of the aforesaid count and ourselves. We shall protect the count and all his possessions to the best of our ability and in good faith, on the condition agreed between us and the count that of those cities and towns, with their appurtenances, which we might capture with the count, or which themselves surrender to him or us, the count should have two-thirds, with one-third reserved for us, which we would hold by right, freely and unencumbered. We shall not scheme or take action to cause the emperor to lose his two-thirds' share. We shall impose an oath on those men to whom we entrust our share that they will not connive or take any action to cause the emperor to lose his two-thirds, and that they would in good faith and with no deception help him hold and defend them against anyone who might wish to take them from him. Furthermore our church should have the same share in the spiritual domain as our city has in temporal matters. And so long as we are on the expedition we shall make no treaty or agreement for any city or town to be surrendered to us, or regarding our accepting money, or about reducing the count's military force without the consent of the count if he is there, or of his commanders in his absence.

In the whole of our domain by land or sea, your subjects will pay no harbour dues or road tolls or mooring tax from which the proceeds belong to the commune of Genoa. And in the whole of our terrestrial and maritime domain which we now possess or may have acquired in the future the people under your jurisdiction and their possessions will be safe and secure, provided they observe our prohibitions.⁴⁵ If any person from Genoese jurisdiction or any person who lives in the Genoese share [of conquered territories] makes a complaint against any person under the count's jurisdiction, that case will be dealt with before one of the count's judges; and *per contra* if any person from the count's jurisdiction has a complaint against any person from the Genoese jurisdiction, that case will be handled and adjudicated under the judicial process of those to whom the Genoese will have entrusted their share [of conquered territory]. Let these rules apply equally to financial claims as to criminal cases. Additionally, men from the count's jurisdiction should not be obliged to undergo judicial combat within our jurisdiction.⁴⁶

We shall comply with all this in good faith and without deception, unless through just impediment imposed by God the count does not come, on the authority of the count [himself], or of men known to be his ambassadors. Additions or deletions to the whole of the preceding treaty may be made in accordance with what might have been agreed by the consuls on the expedition with the count or his ambassadors.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ This sweeping exemption was not granted by Alfonso of León-Castile and represented a notable commercial benefit for the Genoese. See also, Bensch, *Barcelona and its Rulers*, pp. 225–26.

⁴⁶ For the Genoese law concerning judicial combat, see the 'Consuls' Brief', CD, vol. 1, no. 128, p. 156.

⁴⁷ The following list of witnesses is added as a footnote. [These individual names are not listed in the index]:

6. 1147, Lease of Almería to Ottone Bonvillano for 30 years

(*LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 94, pp. 149–50).

Law enacted in respect of Ottone di Bonvillano concerning the city of Almería.⁴⁸

The following were sworn witnesses:

Lanfranco Pevere, Guglielmo Negro, Ansaldo Mallone, Marino di Porta, Sigismundo, Boemondo, Guglielmo Pevere, Oberto Cancelliere, Guido de Lodi, Anfoso Guercio, Tancredo di Mauro, Ottone Giudice, Oberto Usodimare, Marchio Giudice, Ingo della Volta, Guglielmo Malocello, Guglielmo Piccamiglio, Ogerio di Guido, Ansaldo Doria, Rodano, Gabernia, Guglielmo Guercio, Ugo Giudice, Guglielmo Borone, Guglielmo Stangone, Filippo di Lamberto, Oberto de Insula, Guglielmo di Negro, Ugo di Baldizone, Giordano di Porta, Bonifacio Lamberto, Guglielmo Porco, Oberto di Bellamuto, Ceba, Gandolfo Sardena, Rubaldo Alberico, Guglielmo di Mauro, Lamberto de Marini, Ido Gontardo, Rainaldo Gauson, Guglielmo di Murta, Ogerio Vento, Guglielmo Buferio, Vassallo di Campo, Opizzo Lecavello, Martino de Mauro, Ottone Bucella, Villano di Castello, Trentavellate, Guidoto Surlo, Viscount Alberico, Rozeron Asalite, Lanfranco de Pallo, Guinegiso, Ido de Datalo, Ugo de Bulgaro, Anselmo Alberico and Lanfranco his brother, Ottone Lecavello, Enrico Mazal, Odezon Mastal, Guglielmo Tornello, Maraboto Iusiol, Bernizon Seria, Raimundo Crispin, Marchio Castagna, Merlo Guaraco, Lanfranco Mollis, Ingo Galeta, Buccafurni, Merlo Gallo, Fulco Buferio, Marchio Culierada, Lamberto Musso, Merlo de Mari, Guglielmo Bruseto, Bertramo de Marino, Guido Almerii, Belmusto, Otto de Caffaro, Ido de Guiscardo, Oberto de Carbo, Dodo Bolferico, Otto Ruffo, Guglielmo Filardo, Guglielmo Sacco, Guglielmo Cigala, Johannes Simia, Iohatas de Gandulfo Rufo, Gandulfo Bucafuria, Buonvassallo de Cantano, Ugo Leccar, Oberto Malo Avello, Balduino and Enrico, Rainaldo di Berizo, Bonifacio Mortussitis, Baldizon Usodimare, Amico Grillo, Guglielmo de Vualdo, Bonifaccio Roza and Bardinon his brother, Anfosso Boter, Belamuto, Ingo Phariseus, Anselmo Signoraldo, Ionatas de Merlo, Montexello, Corrado Rufo, Rubaldo de Curia, Viscount Ottobono, Pietro Golias, Buterico, Ugo Guaraco, Buonvicino de Campo, Oberto Piccamiglio, Buonvassallo Cimagemar, Ido de Campo, Viscount Bonifaccio, Corrado Botar, Ogerio Balteado, Buonvassallo de Medolico, Guglielmo di Bombello, Froenzo Gontardo, Rolando Avvocato, Guglielmo Bibensaqua, Merlo de Brasil, Rubaldo de Alcherio, Ugo de Castro, Iohannes Novedela, Alsaldo Bolachese, Alberto della Volta, Rubaldo Cavarunco, Alvernaccio Stralando, Lanfranco Argemme, Girardo Scoto, Otto Binzerro, Ansaldo Golias, Ioel, Guglielmo Guercio de Ponte, Serro.

The following took the oath in the presence of the count of Barcelona: Ansaldo Doria, Oberto Torre, Guglielmo Piccamiglio, Filippo di Lamberto, Balduino, Ansaldo Pizo, Martino de Mauro, Buonvassallo de Castro, Oberto Spinda, Guglielmo della Volta, Pagano della Volta, Oger de Bocheron, Rainaldo de Ceba, Ottone de Bonvillano, Ido Scoto, Lanfranco Alberico, Ido Gontardo the younger, Guglielmo Polesin, Ruggiero Derdone, Nicola Roza, Filippo Ansalite, Grifo Alberico.

⁴⁸ Epstein notes that this represented the ‘privatisation’ of Genoa’s conquests, largely enacted on account of the problems in ruling distant possessions and instead, ensuring that they were controlled by loyal vassals in return for service and income, *Genoa* pp. 50–51. Decrees granting similar leases in respect of Tortosa to private consortia can be found at *LI*, vol. 1/1, nos 114–17, pp. 175–80. Significantly, under that arrangement the purchasers must

In the city of Almería, the consuls Oberto Torre, Baldovino, Filippo and Ansaldo, to the glory of God and the commune of Genoa, pronounce and confirm that Ottone di Buonvillano holds and has title for 30 years in the name of the commune of Genoa to the city of Almería together with its appurtenances, on condition that he donates two *pallia* annually to the altar of San Lorenzo; and after the first 15 years he should pay annually to the commune of Genoa one half of all the import duties⁴⁹ of the city of Almería without deduction of collection costs.

And if the emperor⁵⁰ acquires any territory between Denia and Seville and assigns a share of it to the commune of Genoa, Ottone di Buonvillano should likewise be its lessee and hold it in the name of the commune of Genoa on the same terms; and if the emperor grants any cash or chattels⁵¹ to him as the commune's representative, he shall give this to the commune of Genoa unless the commune of Genoa lifts that obligation by the authority of its consuls.

The consuls announced this legal decision because they have taken the city of Almería for the glory of God and of the whole of Christendom and have decided to retain control over it in response to the pressing requirements of the Christians; above all because they recognised that this was conducive to the glory and profit of the commune of Genoa; [thus] they entrusted it to the aforesaid Ottone on account of both his integrity and good judgment. November 1147, in the tenth year of the indiction.⁵²

7. 1149, Customs exemptions granted to the Genoese by Ramon IV Berenguer for their efforts at Tortosa

(*LI*, vol. 1/2, no. 294, pp. 57–58)

Regarding the count of Barcelona and king of Aragon.⁵³

In God's name. This is the grant of a right most firmly based in law which takes place on my own initiative and with good intent. I, Ramon, by the grace of God count of Barcelona and ruler⁵⁴ of the kingdom of the Aragonese and marquis of Tortosa, in recognition of the very great service and friendship which the whole

start immediate annual payments to the commune of 300 *librae*. This reflects the burden of the debt incurred to finance the expedition to Tortosa.

⁴⁹ '*introitus*'. This can also mean simply 'revenue'; for other examples see, **Document 8**, n. 59, p. 186 below.

⁵⁰ Alfonso VII of León-Castille.

⁵¹ '*pecuniam*'.

⁵² Ottone's side of the treaty, sworn in November 1147, can be found in *LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 95, pp. 151–52.

⁵³ For Ramon Berenguer IV, see Introduction p. 39 and *CAT*, p. 129. He was king of Aragon as well as count of Barcelona, see J.F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia PA, 2003), pp. 41–52.

⁵⁴ '*princeps*'.

Genoese people displayed to me during the capture of Tortosa, freely remit out of my most ample resources from this day forward to the whole Genoese people and to the other men under their jurisdiction all road taxes, mooring fees or harbour dues which the Genoese and the men under their jurisdiction had been accustomed to paying at Tamarit⁵⁵ on their journeys to and from Spain and other destinations, on the following basis: that neither I nor my heir nor anyone acting on my instructions or anyone of any residential status in Tamarit shall have any power to receive in Tamarit, through any stratagem, from any Genoese or any man from Genoese jurisdiction, any harbour dues or road tax or mooring fee; but let it be forever waived just as I have through other legal instruments waived or remitted these taxes in respect of them throughout my other territory. May they come and go freely [to Spain and wherever else they like] with no obstacle or impediment, and let them do whatever they like which is of benefit to them without being prevented by me or by my heirs.

Seal of Count Ramon.

Done under good omens⁵⁶ at Tortosa, in the month of January in the year 1149, on the eleventh year of the indiction.

Seals of Gulielmus, seneschal to Ramon; William of Montpellier;⁵⁷ Peter, master of the Knights of the Temple;⁵⁸ Gauçerandus de Pinos; Gulielmus Obilotus; Deusde de Tamarice; Bertrandus de Belog.

Seal of Secretary Poncius, who recorded this in the month and year noted above.

8. Privatisation of tax revenues

(a) 1149, *Consuls privatise tax collection rights to repay debts incurred on expedition to Tortosa.*

(*LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 113, pp. 173–75)

Announcement of the sale of [the revenues from] official weighing scales, and the measurement of grain and cloth, and the tax per hundredweight of iron, which took place to meet the cost of the expedition to Tortosa.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ 'Tamarice', now Tamarit on the Costa Dorada near Taragona. Given its coastal location where duties could readily be imposed on passing ships, this is a more likely site than Tamarite de Litera in Huesca. We are grateful to Professor Damian Smith for identifying this place.

⁵⁶ 'feliciter' a conventional usage for the signature of documents.

⁵⁷ William VI of Montpellier, on whom, see above, p. 39, n. 145 and p. 68, n. 88.

⁵⁸ Peter of Rovira was master of the Templars in Aragon between 1143 and 1158, see Forey, *Templars in the Corona de Aragon*, pp. 89, 91, 312.

⁵⁹ Similar decrees, privatising other revenue streams, can be found at *LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 122, pp. 186–88, and no. 125, pp. 190–92, both dated January 1150. See Caffaro 'Annals', pp. 74–75 for the city's repurchase of these revenues in 1155. In the 'Annals' Caffaro records only the consuls' names for these difficult years, p. 71 above and Introduction, pp. 39–40.

In the chapter house of the canonical church of San Lorenzo, the consuls Oberto Spinola, Guglielmo Vento, Caffaro, Guglielmo Pelle, Bisaccia [and] Guglielmo Negro, with the full leave and consent of all the members of the council, made and confirmed their ruling that Ansaldo Doria, Guglielmo Piccamiglio, Guglielmo di Negro and Ottone Lecavelo and their associates should, from the day of the Purification of the Blessed Mary [2 February] just past for a term of 15 years, without let or hindrance by the consuls or the commune and people of Genoa, be the owners, following traditional practice, of the total revenues from official weighing scales, from the measurement of grain and cloth, both wholesale and retail, and from the weigh-house for iron, with the exception of the tax on almonds and onions.⁶⁰

It is assumed that these 15 years are a time of peace; but if within those 15 years the commune of Genoa suffers civil disorder or no *compagnia* is sworn, at the end of the fifteen-year term they should retain these revenues only to the extent that proper restitution is made to them in settled conditions to compensate for the loss they have suffered in unsettled times. If the aforesaid circumstances give rise to blatant non-payment of taxes let four-fold compensation be paid to the aforesaid purchasers as the calculation requires, and if a concealed non-payment subsequently emerges, let the guilty party make two-fold amends for the short-fall.

The consuls listed above made this proclamation because they were obliged under their oath to pay back the very large debt which previous consuls had incurred to pay for the expedition to Tortosa; since they did not have the means to repay, a council meeting of the commune was held, and they sold the aforesaid revenues to the aforesaid purchasers at a price of 1,301 *librae* which they spent in easing the commune's debts.⁶¹ Those who have held the aforesaid collection rights must make an annual oath at the inauguration of the consuls of the commune of Genoa. The consuls are to have jurisdiction in respect of any wrong-doings committed in respect of these matters. There follow the names of those who made this purchase, with the amount of their individual payments: Guglielmo Piccamiglio, Vassallo di Guisulfo and Buonvassallo Cima di Mari, 160 *librae*; Guglielmo Malocello and Tanclero Macellano, 160 *librae*; Ansaldo Doria 160 *librae*; Alfonso Guercio and Filardo 160 *librae*; Ottone Lecavelo 160 *librae*; Guglielmo Negro 100 *librae*; Oberto Torre and Ansaldo di Murtedo, 100 *librae*; Rubaldo di Alberico and Bonifacio Bocaccio 100 *librae*; Buonvassallo di Primo and Villano di Castro 100 *librae*; Fredençon di Soselia 100 *librae*. February 1149, in the eleventh year of the indiction.

(b) 1152, *Sale of revenues from the sale of salt*

(LI, vol. 1/1, no. 150, pp. 220–22)

⁶⁰ This difficult passage is open to other interpretations. *Cantaria* is a measure of weight, and also appears to mean a weighing gantry, used *inter alia* for weighing barrels, and by extension iron – it may have denoted a standard ingot. *Rubus* is taken as a dry measure for corn etc., and *canna* as a measure of length for cloth.

⁶¹ See n. 59 on *passim* page.

Enactment regarding the sale of salt which was made by the undermentioned consuls of the commune of Genoa.

In the chapter-house of San Lorenzo, the consuls Boterico, Ottone Rufo and Guglielmo di Bonbello,⁶² on the authority of virtually all the council-members, decreed and confirmed that Guglielmo Picamiglio, Vassallo di Guisulfo, Buonvicino, Cima de Mari, Embrono, Deutesalvet, Tancleo Maçanello, Guglielmo Vivaldi, Ansaldo Doria, Guglielmo Malocello, Ingo de Volta, and their fellow-investors should, henceforth from the next [feast of] the Purification of Holy Mary,⁶³ have the unrestricted right to acquire all the salt which is delivered [to them] by the men who dwell between Capo Corvo and Albuçola.⁶⁴ When [the salt elsewhere] is cheaper, they [the latter] may buy salt from the *Provenza* at [not more than] 7 *denarii* per *mina*, and from other sources for [not more than] 9 *denarii* per *mina*, but they must sell it exclusively to the aforementioned purchasers; and from 1 August following [1152], for the full duration of 20 years, the purchasers shall have the right to sell salt, on condition that they do not make a profit of more than 3 *denarii* per *mina*; but if they have surplus of salt such that they cannot sell it all within a year, they may sell the surplus salt, as defined above, in future years, in the course of which they may [continue to] purchase salt, and have the right to impose royalties⁶⁵ of whatever amount they wish and wherever they wish from Cinquadra to Panabium; and no one else may impose duties or sell salt within these territorial limits. Likewise, no one may extract or sell salt from within these stated territorial limits without the permission of these [named] individuals. If anyone perpetrates either violence or theft on them on account of the salt, or extracts salt from the prescribed area without their permission, or inflicts any damage or makes any sale [of salt], he shall pay them 3 *solidi* by way of a fine in respect of each *mina* [of salt] which he has sold or damaged.

They further decreed that no one from within the prescribed territorial limits should have the authority to buy salt anywhere between Monaco and Cinquadra except from the owners of the gabelle.

But if the aforementioned purchasers lose [possession of] the salt after the aforesaid [number of] years have elapsed, on account of the fact that a *compagnia* has not been constituted in Genoa, at such time as a *compagnia* is [again] in being, they shall be compensated for non-possession of the salt on the basis of three

⁶² These were consuls *de comuni* for 1151.

⁶³ 2 February 1152.

⁶⁴ Identification of place-names is uncertain, but the issue is addressed in Fiorenzo Torso, 'Contributo allo studio della toponomia in Liguria: i nomi di luogo del commune di Arenzano (Genova) in prospettiva storica', *Rivista Italiana di Onomastica*, 17 (2011), pp. 517–36, to which we are much indebted. From west to east along the Mediterranean coast, we believe the relevant places to be Monaco, Albisola (near Savona), Panabium (Capo Panaggi, Arenzano), Genoa itself, Capo Corvo (near Lerici) and Cinquadra (Cinquale di Massa). The complex monopoly arrangements reflect the realities of Genoese jurisdiction, and the varying degrees of fiscal authority.

⁶⁵ '*cabellas*', origin of the French 'gabelle' or salt tax.

months' [worth of revenue] for every two months, and three years' worth for every two years' lost revenues. Men residing between Monaco and Panabium [i.e. verging on the *Provenza*] may not sell salt or transport it from the zone stretching from Panabium to Cinquadra without permission from the controllers of the salt. Whoever does so shall lose a quarter of the [value of the salt] unless he swears on oath that he was unaware [that permission had not been granted]. If it happens that men residing beyond Panabium and Corvum transport salt to within that zone, the aforesaid purchasers may buy that salt if they wish and sell it as 'salt from elsewhere'; if they do not wish to sell it, the consuls may oblige [the importers] to re-export the salt outside the zone and prohibit its future re-entry. They further decreed that everyone who owned salt in Genoa may sell it if they wished up to 1 August 1152, but that, once that time had passed,⁶⁶ they were permitted to sell it only to the aforementioned purchasers. Furthermore, if any citizen of Genoa buys salt for his personal consumption, they will sell it back to him at cost.⁶⁷

They further decreed that the aforesaid purchasers must pay for the salt within 15 days of unloading, and that those delivering salt should unload it in accordance with custom and practice, and should donate 2 *minae* per hundredweight⁶⁸ as a charitable donation.

The above-named consuls promulgated this decree because they were bound by their oath to make a very large expenditure, and because they lacked the resources to pay this sum, they effected this sale on the authority of the *consilium*, and took payment of 810 *librae* from the purchasers, which the consuls have spent for the benefit of the commune. Under this contract of sale, Guglielmo Picamiglio is to meet one ninth share, Vassallo di Guisulfo one sixth, Bonovicino one eighteenth, Cima de Mari one eighteenth, Embrono and Deutesalvet [sestaor Tanclei] Maçanelli one eighteenth, Guglielmo Vivaldi one ninth, Ansaldo Doria one ninth, Guglielmo Malocello one ninth, Ingo de Volta one eighteenth. January 1152, on the fourteenth year of the indiction.

[Sealed] I, Guglielmo de Colomba, notary, wrote this decree on the instruction of the above-mentioned consuls.

[[Sealed] I, Guido Laudensis, judge, signed.

I, Oberto Spinola, signed.

⁶⁶ '*quibus transactis*' makes more sense using a temporal interpretation of '*transactis*', and this decree as including transitional arrangements.

⁶⁷ '*per capitale ei reddant*'. One of the many meanings of '*capitale*', is the true value of goods, before any profit or punitive element is added.

⁶⁸ This seems the best interpretation of '*centanarium*', in B, a variant on '*centenarium*'; it is however possible that this is a corruption of '*cantarum*' another weight, or that '*centenarium*' refers to the duty payable at the official measuring scales, the '*canterius*'.

9. 1149, Treaty with the king of Valencia

(*LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 118, pp. 180–82).⁶⁹

This is the peace treaty which Guglielmo Lusio concluded with the king of Valencia.⁷⁰

In the name of the Lord, Amen. This document of security, peace and love, between himself and the men of Genoa, its consuls, leading citizens, and all its other learned men and merchants, to which Boabdil Mahomet, son of Said, may God preserve him, gives his word and commitment, with their ambassador Guglielmo Lusio who was sent by the Genoese and came to us with the document and with the seal, and who is well known and recognised by us and whom we believe to be one of the leading citizens of the city of Genoa. He has come to us who are gathered together in this place where we will confirm and commit to a period of 10 years, beginning with the signature of this treaty, that by land and sea, throughout their territory, and to the limits of their jurisdiction, Boabdil and all his vassals will to the best of their ability accord peaceful treatment to all Genoese citizens, wherever they come across them on land or by sea; and that all Genoese citizens, and all who are subject to their control, conduct themselves peaceably towards all the king's subjects at sea and on land both near [his kingdom] and in distant regions, and in both the east and the west. The Genoese commit to peace and establish peace without deception or evil intent, on the basis that King Boabdil give them 10,000 *marabotini* over the period indicated above. King Boabdil, in consideration of his affection and respect for them, has decided to [give] those 10,000 *marabotini* over two years, the first tranche immediately and the second in a year's time, plus 5,000 *marabotini* which we currently owe to Guglielmo Lusio with whom we are signing this peace agreement. He has already received 2,000 of the 5,000 *marabotini* in gold and lengths of silk which he is now taking with him. He is leaving his representative here for the 3,000 *marabotini* outstanding for this year so that he can take them in two months. Under the terms of the above-mentioned peace, let all the citizens of Genoa who are in Almería or Tortosa offer no hostility towards the persons or possessions of the people from the king's jurisdiction, either at sea or on land or anywhere they may encounter them. King Boabdil further agrees with [the Genoese ambassador] that in consideration of his affection and respect for their city, no citizen of Genoa or of areas under Genoese jurisdiction shall pay any forfeit or tax, minor or significant, anywhere in his domain within the duration of the aforesaid peace; but that if anyone from other nations comes in order to

⁶⁹ The Latin of this document is ungrammatical and discursive; but the broad meaning is clear enough.

⁷⁰ The governor of Valencia at this time was Yusuf ibn Mardanish, see Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 194–95; Guichard, *Les musulmans de Valence*, vol. 1, pp. 110, 116–117; his brother, Ibn Mardanish ruled the Levante region of Eastern Spain. On trade between Genoa and the Muslim world, see Introduction, pp. 14–18.

trade with them [the king's subjects] under arrangements prior to this agreement, let him pay the amount to which he would have been liable.

The king has given orders that two trading posts, one in Valencia and the other in Denia, be allocated to these Genoese citizens to occupy and live in as their own property, for the purpose of maintaining a presence [in his territory] and conducting trade; and no one from other nations should live there. One bath-house should also be provided [for the use of the Genoese], free of charge, for one day a week throughout his territory. The king undertook to them that he would keep this agreement with them correctly and honourably, and Guglielmo Lusio committed to the king on behalf of the citizens of Genoa that they would conduct no expedition against his territory nor behave in a hostile fashion towards anyone under his jurisdiction. They promised one to the other to fulfil the agreement on these terms.

This document was written in the middle of the month of Safar, in the year 544 [c. 23 June 1149]. In the Lord's name, Amen. I, Guglielmo Lusio, by the grace of God ambassador of the commune and city of Genoa, establish and confirm to you Boabdil, king of Valencia, peace and a lasting [period of] harmony for 10 years, on the orders of the consuls and elders of the commune of Genoa and in accordance with their wishes.

10. 1151, Prohibition on supplying arms to Saracens

(*LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 151, p. 223)

Proclamation regarding a ban on transporting timber and weapons to the Saracens.⁷¹ In the church of San Lorenzo, before a full *parlamentum*, the consuls Guglielmo di Bonbello, Guglielmo Stralando and Ottone Rufo proclaim and declare that no one living between Monaco and Portovenere, without the specific authority of the consuls *de comuni* of Genoa shall transport oars, spears, timber for constructing galleys, or weapons to the territory of the Saracens. The person and all the goods of anyone who contravenes this order shall be placed under an interdiction. The above-named consuls made this proclamation because they recognise that this is our duty to God, to the whole of Christendom and to the commune of Genoa. May 1151, in the thirteenth year of the indiction.

⁷¹ For a detailed account of Italian sales of strategic supplies to Egypt, see Jacoby, 'The Supply of War Materials to Egypt', pp. 102–12. The key phrase in this legislation is 'without the specific authority of the consuls' showing in this instance a desire to regulate such trade as desired. The issue of supplying Muslim lands with such material is discussed above, Introduction, pp. 15–16.

11. The Embriaci in the East⁷²

(a) 1147, *Conclusion of legal proceedings by the consuls against the Embriaci*

(LI, vol. 1/1, no. 136, pp. 202–204)

Judgment relating to the sons of the late Nicola Embriaco.

May it be clear to all the people of Genoa that Ansaldo Mallone, Guglielmo di Negro, Lanfranco Pevero and Caffaro, consuls of the commune of Genoa, summoned the sons of the late Nicola Embriaco to respond to their case that all the goods of the aforesaid Nicola were by law forfeit to the commune of Genoa on the grounds that neither Guglielmo Embriaco nor his heirs had observed the legally binding agreement to return the city of Jubayl, as well as St Symeon, Latakia and Antioch, together with their revenues, at the expiry of a term of 20 years, as had been concluded under oath between Nicola himself and the then consuls of the commune of Genoa. They vigorously argued their position before the consuls named above, assisted by the advocate Giovanni Barca and various distinguished legal experts. After their case had been skilfully aired and before the consuls had considered the position in law or their judgement, they settled the case by offering a compromise, on the advice of virtually all the members of the *concilium* at the time, on the basis of undertaking to pay 300 *librae*. In response to which the consuls, on the authority of virtually the whole *consilium*, made a ruling, and released from any distraint all the sons, daughters and descendants of Nicola, all the goods which had passed into their possession from their father Nicola, or their grandfather or grandmother, Alguda, or from any other source, and all persons who own goods derived from Nicola and his sons; to the effect that they may not at any time be sued or in any way harassed by the consuls or the commune of Genoa, or by anyone acting on their behalf, on the basis that from now on they will not be bound by any agreement or contract or by any document or by the legal commitment Guglielmo Embriaco or Nicola or their wives made or committed to with the commune of Genoa, regarding the return of the city of Jubayl, Antioch, St Symeon, Latakia and their revenues, as referred to above. The consuls ruled as follows, that if anyone made a judgement or claim regarding the goods specified above on behalf of the consuls or commune of Genoa, the sons of Nicola and their goods are released from its effect, and the commune of Genoa will henceforth keep them and defend them unharmed by any loss. Done in the chapter-house, under favourable omens, in the year 1147.

⁷² As Mack has shown, this series of documents relates to disputes concerning the Embriaci clan. In the first, the consuls seek redress from the heirs of Nicola Embriaco in Genoa on the basis of failure to observe agreements by their brethren in Jubayl, St Symeon, Latakia and Antioch. The Genoese heirs, (those of Nicola) had to pay a fee (300 *librae*), while the debt of the Embriaci in the East was written off. Mack, *Merchant of Genoa*, pp. 121–22.

*(b) 1154, Lease of Genoese holdings to the Embriaco family*⁷³*(LI, vol. 1/1, nos 164–66, pp. 239–42)***Concerning Jubayl and Latakia** (no. 164, pp. 239–40)

The judgment [granting] Jubayl to Guglielmo [II] Embriaco.

In the chapter-house, the consuls Martino de Mauro, Guglielmo di Negro and Guglielmo Lusio, on the authority and at the wish of all members of the *concilium*, hereby confirm their ruling that Guglielmo Embriaco and his heirs shall hold and have quiet enjoyment of Jubayl with all its appurtenances, and likewise the whole of the Genoese holding in Latakia, with its appurtenances, from the next Day of the Annunciation for 29 years, without challenge by the commune of Genoa or of anyone on its behalf. The aforesaid consuls likewise excuse Guglielmo Embriaco all that he is committed to paying to the commune of Genoa by way of bezants in respect of Jubayl and the other places, on the basis that neither he nor anyone acting on his behalf can henceforth be sued for what is owed. They have granted this legal discharge because the aforesaid Guglielmo Embriaco is obliged every year to give 270 bezants⁷⁴ to the commune of Genoa and a *pallium* worth 10 bezants to the altar of San Lorenzo in exchange for the revenues of the places named above, all of which he swore to give in the open *parlamentum*, and in exchange for which he received in the plenary *parlamentum* a banner made up of four pieces of silk for the whole term of his tenure, in recognition of his possession of those places. In return for being excused payment, he gave 100 *librae* to the commune of Genoa, which the consuls spent to the public benefit. Likewise as part of the same oath he swore that at the completion of the term he would vacate those places at the wish and on the instructions of the consuls of the commune of Genoa who would be in office at the time. January 1154.

Concerning Acre (no. 165, pp. 240–41)

Law made in respect of Ugo Embriaco and Nicola his brother regarding the whole of the possessions of the commune of Genoa in Acre and their appurtenances.

In the chapter-house, the consuls Guglielmo Negro, Martino di Mauro, and Guglielmo Lusio rule and confirm that Ugo Embriaco and Nicola his brother and their descendants should hold and have quiet enjoyment on behalf of the commune

⁷³ These documents divide the clan's landholdings between the two parts: that concerning Jubayl and Latakia went to the Guglielmo II Embriaco and was a 29-year renewal of the lease on annual payment of 270 bezants, the others, dealing with possessions in Antioch and Acre, went to the brothers Nicola and Ugo Embriaco of Genoa. The latter was the first time Genoa leased its property in Acre. The fact that the Acre lease was cheaper than the nominally less important port of Jubayl may be to do with an element of punishment over the earlier dispute, plus a recognition of the 100 lire voluntary payment noted below from the Acre section of the clan. *Ibid.*, pp. 122–24.

⁷⁴ About 100 *librae* according to Mack, *Ibid.*, p. 123.

of Genoa for a term of 29 years of all that the commune of Genoa owns in Acre with its appurtenances, with no impediment by the commune of Genoa or anyone else on its behalf, in exchange for the annual payment of 1,000 Genoese *denarii*, after the first four years have elapsed. The consuls have made this decree because Ugo has promised on behalf of himself, his brother and their descendants that they will pay 50 *librae* annually except for the current period of four years, in respect of which he has paid 100 *librae* to the consuls of the commune of Genoa because of their pressing need.⁷⁵ And further, in the event that any person or persons should in any way obstruct the aforesaid Ugo and Nicola Embriaco or their descendants from benefiting from this contract over the current two-year period, as already set out, then after the completion of these two years, let them have tenure and own the estate for six years for the 100 *librae* which they have given from their own means. January 1154, in the first year of the indiction.⁷⁶

Concerning Antioch (no. 166, pp. 241–42)

Law made in respect of Ugo Embriaco and Nicola his brother regarding the whole of the possessions of the commune of Genoa in Antioch.

In the chapter-house, the consuls Guglielmo Nero, Martino di Mauro and Guglielmo Lusio rule and confirm that Ugo Embriaco and Nicola his brother and their descendants should hold and have quiet enjoyment on behalf of the commune of Genoa for a term of 29 years of all that the commune of Genoa owns in Antioch and its appurtenances, with no impediment by the commune of Genoa or anyone else on its behalf, in exchange for annual payments to the commune of Genoa of 80 bezants.⁷⁷ The consuls passed this decree because Ugo promised on behalf of himself, his brother and their descendants that they will pay 80 bezants annually to the consuls of the commune of Genoa, which is why the consuls made the above declaration. January 1154, in the first year of the indiction.

⁷⁵ The phrase here (*‘in magna necessitate’*) is another signal of the ongoing financial troubles.

⁷⁶ The effect of this decree is that, after the first four years of the 29-year lease, the Embriaci will pay 1,000 Genoese *denarii* (approximately 50 *librae*) plus 50 *librae* per year, for the lease of all the Genoese holdings in Acre and their revenues. They will pay 100 *librae* in advance for the first four years (this looks like a single, rather than four annual advance payments), to ease Exchequer pressures. In exchange they are guaranteed an extra two years for this down-payment if they are prevented from exploiting the lease for the first two years. See Caffaro, ‘Annals’ pp.71–72, 74–75 above, for the consuls’ heroic debt repayment programme.

⁷⁷ The payment for Antioch of 80 bezants was equivalent to less than 30 *librae* per year.

12. 1155, Draft treaty with the Emperor Manuel Komnenos⁷⁸

(*LI*, vol. 1/1, no. 181, pp. 262–64)

This is the treaty of the Lord Manuel, emperor of Constantinople, with the commune of Genoa.⁷⁹

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

I, Demetrios Mekropolites, envoy of the most Holy Emperor of Constantinople, my Lord Manuel Pophyrogenitos Komnenos, promise to you the consuls of Genoa, Guglielmo Porco, Oberto Cancelliere, Giovanni Malocello and Guglielmo Lusio, and to the people of Genoa, on behalf of my Lord himself, peace and good will; [And I further promise] that you will be protected and defended in all the His Majesty's territory and that in respect of complaints which Genoese who are in His Majesty's territory might make before him, he will grant them the treatment which justice requires once the complaint has been resolved before him.

Furthermore you will not pay higher duties than the Pisans currently pay in any of His Majesty's territory. I also undertake that my master the most holy emperor will grant annually to the commune of Genoa 500 *hyperperi* and 2 *pallia* to support your religious festivals, and in addition to this 7,000 *hyperperi* and 2 *pallia* which I have given to you now in respect of the next 14 years, he will give you 2 *pallia* annually. He will give 60 *hyperperi* and 1 *pallium* annually to your archbishop, and will give you a trading station in Constantinople, and quays with the accompanying revenue and all jurisdiction applicable to them, such as the Pisans have, in those areas where the Pisans themselves and the Venetians have facilities. My lord the most holy emperor will grant you facilities equivalent to those the Pisans possess throughout the rest of His Majesty's territory. If moreover Palaiologos or Subitos have promised you a specific trading station and quays, my lord the most holy emperor will grant these same places to you; but if not, he grants them to you as set out above. He will make this agreement known to his senior people and will instruct them to protect and defend all Genoese and ensure that the Genoese should not pay taxes in His Majesty's territory unless noted above. My lord the most holy and excellent emperor will himself issue a charter sealed with his seal dealing with all these matters, for observance in perpetuity by himself and his descendants who become emperors after him.

This was done in the city of Genoa, in the church of San Lorenzo, on 12 October 1155 in the third year of the indiction.

This is the treaty of the Genoese with the Lord Manuel, emperor of Constantinople. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen. We the Genoese consuls, Guglielmo Lusio, Giovanni Malocello, Oberto Cancelliere and

⁷⁸ See Introduction, pp. 22–23, and Caffaro 'Annals', p. 75 above. Also Epstein, pp. 72–74 for an overview. He describe this as a 'preliminary agreement,' which, whether later ratified or not, was not fully implemented.

⁷⁹ See also **Document 15** below.

Guglielmo Porco, with the whole people of Genoa, make peace with the Lord Manuel, emperor of Constantinople Porphyrogenitos Komnenos, his descendants who will become emperor after him, and His Majesty's subjects; and we promise in a spirit of truth that we shall not form plans or take action, either alone or through third parties, or in association with others, causing the Lord Manuel, the most holy emperor, or his descendants who will become emperor after him, to lose territory or real estate which he either possesses now or obtains from a third party, unless he seizes lands in Syria which we own or occupy or in which we have jurisdiction, either through capturing them in war, or their surrender [to us] or as a grant or by purchase or exchange that we may have effected of one territory for others. If the Genoese are present in His Majesty's territory and any person or persons should make an attack or initiate a siege in that area, any Genoese who are there will defend and protect those lands in good faith and without deceit to the glory of the Lord Manuel and of his descendants who become emperor after him. As far as offences which the Genoese might commit in the territory of the most holy emperor against the Lord Emperor or his subjects let them be dealt with in the same way as the Pisans now are. So if a Genoese commits an offence against His Majesty or His Majesty's subjects, the consuls of the commune of Genoa will be bound in good faith to do what justice requires once they have been notified by the Lord Emperor, just as the consuls of the Pisans are under an obligation to render him justice. Furthermore, the above-named consuls and the people of Genoa have sworn in the church of San Lorenzo the Martyr, [summoned] on the aforesaid day by the town-crier⁸⁰ in the full *parlamentum*, to observe everything which is included in the present document.

13. 1162, Treaty with Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, renewed with Henry VI (1191)

(*LI*, vol. 1/2, nos. 285 (pp. 20–27, and 286, pp. 27–35. The first treaty also appears in H. Appelt, ed., *Urkunden Friedrichs I*, 5 vols. (1158–63), (*MGH*, Hanover, 1979–90), vol. 1, no. 335, pp. 220–27)

(a) 1162, Treaty with Frederick I⁸¹

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity. Frederick, by grace of God's mercy emperor of the Romans and Augustus in perpetuity. Notwithstanding that it is in the interests of the glory and honour of the Empire and at the same time of our own reputation to cherish, watch over, love and embrace all the faithful [subjects] of our

⁸⁰ 'per cintracum'.

⁸¹ See Introduction, pp. 19–22, and Caffaro's account of the negotiations leading to this treaty, 'Annals', pp. 93–94 above. Epstein, pp. 76–78 provides an overview; Abulafia, *Two Italies*, pp. 127–30 gives deeper analysis.

Empire, yet we should rightly manifest a weightier concern and a more attentive watchfulness over those by whose commitment, military support and strenuous efforts in respect of the glorification of our crown a more positive hope is beginning to smile favourably upon us and a greater confidence to emerge. It seems therefore fitting and reasonable that we should more munificently, with overflowing bounty and imperial generosity, enlist in assisting the Empire militarily and in growing its substance the loyal allegiance of those whose persistence and power can augment to a greater degree than the rest the safe-keeping of the body politic. Wherefore, since we have heard true reports that the city of Genoa has since its first foundation raised its head highest among the other cities of the coast, and by conspicuous exercise of courage and of many virtues to have been pre-eminent over the whole of that period by land and sea, it has pleased our Majesty to single out, cherish and safeguard with all possible goodwill in preference to others, the loyalty of all men of such greatness, by which we mean the Genoese, and always to honour them to our common advantage with fitting marks of respect and more generous privileges, the more particularly because we gratefully wish to make the fullest use of their military support and vigorous efforts at sea in naval warfare, in accordance with our declared intention to extend and strengthen by all possible means the reputation and substance of the Roman Empire not only on land but also by sea.

Wherefore let all loyal subjects of the emperor now and in the future know with what great recognition of our thanks and esteem, with how comprehensive a bestowal of favours, and with what a return on their love we have rightly considered the city of Genoa should be raised on a pedestal and paid our respect. For we freely grant to the consuls and the commune of Genoa in return for their services⁸² that whenever they want to raise an army or conduct a raid or expeditionary force, provided they remain loyal to the Empire, they may use the whole coast from the harbour of Monaco to Portovenere for the benefit of that army, raid or expedition, arranging matters of course to avoid as a consequence any undermining in other respects of the jurisdiction of the [relevant] counts or marquises. Likewise we freely grant to the consuls and commune of Genoa in return for their services the unfettered power to choose from amongst themselves, and confirm and retain in office consuls, and to rely on them as possessing the legal right and unimpeded capability to administer justice and punish wrongdoing in the city and areas in its jurisdiction in good faith, lawfully and in accordance with the sound principles of that city, and we shall not impose upon them any other legal authority. Furthermore, we freely grant to them in return for their services and gratefully guarantee in perpetuity, on the authority of the Empire, by all the means at our disposal, all towns, harbours, *regalia*,⁸³ properties, legal rights and all the possessions they, or someone else in their name, hold, occupy or legally own on this side or the other of the [Mediterranean] sea.⁸⁴ We freely grant their

⁸² *'in feudum'*.

⁸³ See Introduction, p. 145; Belgrano, vol. 11, 'Annals', p. 81, n. 140.

⁸⁴ *'in citramarinis vel utramarinis partibus'*.

titles to property and freeholds. Likewise we grant to them in recognition of their service the city of Syracuse with all its appurtenances, together with 250 knights' fees from the land in the valley of Noto in addition to proceeds of the knight's fees from Syracuse; and if the revenue falls short in those areas they can make up the amount from the land of Count Simon.⁸⁵

Additionally we freely grant to them in recognition of their service a quarter suitable for trading purposes with a church, bath, trading post and baking oven in any coastal city which by divine providence may be captured by or surrendered to us. We further grant to them that in any territory which at God's instance we may acquire from a third party with their help, their citizens need pay no tax, road toll, levy, customary charge or impost, even if it has in fact subsequently surrendered to us. We also freely grant to the consuls and commune of Genoa the unrestricted right to exclude men from the *Provenza* or France on either the outward or return voyage from trade with the whole of Sicily, the maritime provinces, Calabria and Apulia, and from the whole principality of Venice, notwithstanding the fact that the Venetians have earned our gratitude and good will. We also grant that in territories to which their citizens have come to do business, they may have one, two or more Genoese to administer and impose justice; and that their merchants may everywhere freely use their own weights and measures to settle their own affairs and commercial transactions. Likewise we freely grant that if anyone who is Genoese, or who has lodged his complaint in territory which we have granted to them, lodges a complaint against a Genoese or a citizen from within their jurisdiction, neither a Genoese nor a citizen from within their jurisdiction should be required to offer satisfaction to the plaintiff other than before Genoese judges. But let them deliver their judgment to the plaintiff according to our Roman laws and their own excellent traditions, and if we instruct that someone should be brought to trial, let the Genoese judges administer justice within an appropriate timescale on the lines set out above; and if they are unwilling to accept jurisdiction,⁸⁶ let the trial take place before us, and we grant to the Genoese that of all [the accused's] portable assets, whether in gold, silver, coin or lengths of silk cloth – except for retail cut-offs – which the Genoese have seized, we will keep one half and the Genoese the other half; on the understanding that the consuls strive conscientiously to ensure that they secure custody of the assets and distribute them in this way, as an act of good will we waive all claim to traditional royal fiscal rights.⁸⁷ Further, in our imperial generosity we grant to the Genoese one quarter of all the [remaining] moveable property reaching the royal treasury which has come into our possession or been surrendered to us, except for precious stones. We shall

⁸⁵ The valley of Noto is also in Sicily, a region of noted fertility. Count Simon was probably a nephew of Count Roger I of Sicily. See Abulafia, *Two Italies*, pp. 39, 127, 130.

⁸⁶ It is not clear from the text whether this refers to the unwillingness of the Genoese judges to accept the case, or that of the plaintiff to accept Genoese jurisdiction.

⁸⁷ '*regalia*'.

strive in good faith to bring these goods within our control, and they will without deception be distributed as proposed.

Furthermore we freely grant to them that from the Easter Day recently past, since when the Genoese have assiduously sought my gratitude, if any of their goods are seized or impounded on land or sea by the Sicilian, or another person acting on his behalf,⁸⁸ or any person is taken captive or held up on land or sea through his agency, the Genoese shall have a twentieth of all the goods seized which come into their or our possession if their loss was as much as that, and if it was less, restitution of the property lost should be reduced in proportion to the amount lost, on the basis that the amount lost should be determined either according to the sworn statement of those who have suffered the loss or on the sworn assertion of the consuls based on their honest assessment of the truth of the wronged party's oath. Further, we shall ordain by a general edict and by specific prohibition under imperial authority that no person, of senior, middle or lower rank should to any degree do violence to the persons or property of Genoese or their allies; and if anyone should be so irresponsibly rash as to contravene this edict, we shall inflict a just retribution according to the provision in the edict and prohibition, unless the matter is held over on the word, given without duress, of the injured party or of the consuls of Genoa.

We shall not compel a Genoese army to go anywhere other than territories specifically named under clear understandings between us and them, nor will the Genoese be compelled to make any military incursion or campaign against their will unless we were to lose, which heaven forefend, any city on the Mediterranean coast of Italy or any of the littoral between Arelate and Monte Sant'Angelo or in Apulia or Calabria or Sicily. To the extent that they can reach such areas by ship, they will in good faith help us to recover what we have lost, but neither they nor the citizens of areas under their jurisdiction will from now on be compelled to offer hostages or pledge property against their will. We shall seek sworn undertakings from the consuls of Pavia, Piacenza, Tortona and Asti or from the *podestà* of these cities, and the marquis of Montferrat, the Marquis Enrico Guercio, and the marquises of Bosco and Malaspina that for such time as the Genoese are taking part in our military operations they will not attack or cause detriment to the city of Genoa or to areas within its jurisdiction or their citizens, or to their property in any area where they have control; and if anyone dares to contravene this undertaking, that they will come in good faith to the defence and assistance of the Genoese. We lay this duty upon them as part of their obligation of loyalty; and if any of them contravenes it, they will make good their error in good faith.

We guarantee by our authority that no archbishop, bishop, duke, marquis, count, or administrator⁸⁹ of the imperial estates, no person mighty or lowly in our Empire shall dare to cause disturbance, annoyance, offence or rapine in respect of these rights which we have bestowed on the consuls and the commune of Genoa,

⁸⁸ '*Siculo*', a reference to King William I of Sicily, 1154–66.

⁸⁹ '*gastaldio*'.

inside or outside the city of Genoa, or which, under God's direction, we shall grant to them in the future. If anyone shall dare to contravene, let him pay a fine of 1,000 *librae* of pure gold, of which one half will be paid to my treasury and the other half to the Genoese. From this day forwards we shall neither make or agree to the making or ending of peace, or a truce or renewal of hostilities with William [I] of Sicily, his successor or anyone else without the voluntary consent of all the consuls of Genoa or the majority of those in office at that time.

In order that all this can remain valid in perpetuity under the direction of the Lord, Wilhelm, *advocatus* of Aachen,⁹⁰ has sworn on our behalf, on our authority and by our command, that we will respect all the provisions of this treaty.

This is the oath which the consuls and citizens of Genoa, now and in the future, will make to the Lord Frederick, emperor of the Romans and forever Augustus. In the name of the Lord, Amen. I swear that from this hour forth I will be loyal to the Emperor Frederick, emperor of the Romans, and forever Augustus, as is my legal duty to my lord and emperor. I will neither by my actions or my thoughts cause him to lose his life, limb, crown, Empire or honour, or the state of Genoa or the county, or its area of jurisdiction. If he were to suffer any loss, which the lord forefend, I will help him in good faith and without deception, against any enemy, to recover and retain what he has lost.

And I swear that the commune of Genoa will in good faith raise a sea-borne army or expeditionary force to support his military effort, without deception and with good intent. I will help the Lord Emperor in his conquest of Sicily, Apulia, Calabria and the principality of Capua to the extent that it is possible to reach those regions and the coastal cities within them by ship. If it so pleases the Lord Emperor, the commune of Genoa will in good faith raise a sea-borne army or expeditionary force to support his military effort this year [1162], that is to say on the first of September, or next year through the whole of May. If next year, and may God forefend, the emperor is unable through some reasonable and obvious problem to deliver this force, then we need to be informed in the course of the year of the timing of his mobilisation, and provided it takes place between 1st May and 1st September, then our force will mobilise, and in good faith, to the very best of our ability, will join the army of the Lord Emperor and will not subsequently abandon his army unless a reasonable and manifest obstacle stands in the way through divine intervention, or by the authority of the emperor or his trusted ambassador sent for that purpose following acquisition of the aforesaid territories by the emperor or their surrender to him. And if Sicily or Apulia or Calabria or the principality of Capua is conquered, the Genoese will assist the emperor to retain them, on condition that they are not obliged to maintain a standing force there;

⁹⁰ Imperial bailiff responsible for administration of a city or region ('Vogt'); on Wilhelm, see also p. 202 below.

and if he were to lose such territory, which heaven forefend, the Genoese will in good faith help him to recover them against any power, and specifically against William [I] of Sicily and his successors or any third party who occupies any of those territories or retains possession of it contrary to the Lord Emperor's wishes.

I will not end hostilities or declare a peace or truce or cease-fire with William [I] of Sicily, or his successors or anyone else who is occupying any of the above territories contrary to the wishes of the Lord Emperor and without his permission, and I will declare war on those grounds. I swear that I shall require all the citizens of Genoa aged from 16 to 70 to commit to this oath of loyalty and alliance in good faith and without evil intent, by their own hand,⁹¹ and that they will comply with the above in good faith and without deceit or evil intent, and will in good faith help him to keep the whole coastline from Arles to Monte Sant'Angelo,⁹² and to recover it if he were to lose it; and that they will maintain that same loyalty to the Lord Emperor to which the consuls are committing by this oath. I further swear I shall accept no one as a consul of Genoa who has not sworn this oath in full. Every Genoese citizen will personally swear during our consulate by a public oath that he will himself keep that same loyalty to the Lord Emperor as the consuls are swearing, it being of course understood that it is the duty of the consuls of Genoa to decide in good faith who should go on military expeditions and who should stay behind to defend the city. Let things be so arranged, and let this oath be administered afresh every fourth year to all Genoese who have not [yet] sworn it. I shall further inform the consuls of the commune if I know of anyone who has not discharged this oath.

I shall comply with this in good faith, save for any just impediment through divine intervention or dispensation from the Lord Emperor or his accredited ambassador appointed to take delivery of this oath. Let vassals of the Sicilian either take this oath in full or be debarred from serving as consuls from now until the aforesaid campaign has been completed.

To validate these commitments in perpetuity, under the Lord [God]'s authority, the consuls of Genoa, Ingo della Volta and Nuvelone executed the oath in Pavia, at the church of San Salvatore in the emperor's palace, along with men of noble families representing Genoa, namely Lanfranco Pevere, Rogerone de Castro, Bertramo di Marino, Ido Gontardo and Buonvassallo Bulferico. Giovanni was their secretary.

This is the treaty executed between the Lord Frederick, emperor of the Romans, and the consuls of Genoa, Ingo della Volta and Nuvelone; In the name of the Lord, Amen. I, Ingo and I, Nuvelone, consuls of Genoa, together with the noblemen with us as representatives of Genoa [list as above] agree and pledge on behalf of our

⁹¹ '*manu propria*'.

⁹² In Apulia.

city with the Lord Frederick, emperor of the Romans, that all the current consuls of the Genoese, individually and in person, and all Genoese people and their consuls in the future, will always sustain that loyalty and pledged commitment which we have sworn to him, and to all the kings and emperors of the Romans who might succeed him, when a request is made to them by those kings or emperors of the Romans in person or through their accredited ambassadors, subject to those kings and emperors themselves conferring privileges upon them and validating those privileges, on the same terms as the Lord Emperor has conferred and validated our privileges.

And at such time as the divine breath enters the Lord Emperor to proceed against the Saracens in the whole of the kingdom of Lupus⁹³ and of the king of Majorca and Minorca after the expiry of the period of eight years, that is to say the term of the peace granted to the king of Majorca,⁹⁴ the commune of Genoa will supply an expeditionary force to join his army, and will help him in good faith, without deceit or evil intent, to reduce those lands to the benefit of God and of the Roman Empire, on the basis that we have a one-third share of all territory and property captured or surrendered, and that all such people as the Lord Emperor wants [as subjects] will render him homage.

Here follow the names of the witnesses in whose presence the above provisions were enacted:

Rainald, archbishop of Cologne; Heinrich, bishop of Liège; Ordiebus, bishop of Basel; Hermann, bishop of Konstanz; Hermann, bishop of Verden; Uto, bishop of Nuremberg; Hermann, bishop of Hildesheim; Garsendonius, bishop of Mantua; Udalricus, abbot of Eu; Hermann, abbot of Hersfeld; Heinrich, *prothonotarius*;⁹⁵ Conrad, count palatine of the Rhine, brother of the Lord Emperor; Heinrich, duke of Austria, paternal uncle of the Lord Emperor;⁹⁶ Marquis Teodericus; Otto, count palatine of Wittelsbach; Count Albrecht of Saxony; Count Teto of Saxony; Count Rodulfus of Pfullendorf; Count Ulrich of Lüneburg; Bucardus, castellan of Magdeburg; Count Emicho; William, marquis of Montferrat;⁹⁷ Marquis Obizo Malaspina; Henricus Wertius marquis; Count Wido of Biandrate; Voalricus of Hurningen; Geberhard of Luggenberg; Marquardus, his brother; Conrad of Ammenberg; Heinrich, marshal; Bertoldus *triscamerarius*;⁹⁸ Cuno *camerarius*; Wilhelm, *advocatus* of Aachen; Hartmannus⁹⁹ *camerarius*; Rugwerus *camerarius*;

⁹³ See n. 47, p. 15 above, and **Document 9**.

⁹⁴ Majorca was part of the Almoravid lands.

⁹⁵ 'chief chancellor', an ecclesiastical office.

⁹⁶ This is Henry Jasomirgott, duke of Bavaria and then duke of Austria (d. 1177), also a veteran of the Second Crusade.

⁹⁷ William V of Montferrat (William 'the Old'), marquis from 1136 who later went to the Levant (c.1183), was captured at Hattin, later released and died in the East in 1191.

⁹⁸ '*triscamerarius*' and '*camerarius*' were financial officials at different levels.

⁹⁹ The *LI* text has '*Hartinannus*'. The *MGH* version is preferred. In the witness list we have also preferred '*Obizo*' for '*Obiho*' in *LI*, and '*Nazario*' for '*Nahario*'.

Sigeboto *camerarius*; Ubertus de Olevale; Wido de Sancto Nazario; Allo, standard-bearer; Gilio de Duvara; Otto de Persico; Obizo Bucafol; and many others.

The seal of the Lord Frederick, emperor of the Romans, the most invincible:

I, Chancellor Ulrich, in place of Rainald, archbishop of Cologne and *archicancellarius*, have officially validated it.

The foregoing was enacted in the year of our Lord 1162, in the tenth year of the indiction, during the reign of the Lord Frederick, invincible emperor of the Romans, in the tenth year of his reign as king and his seventh as emperor. Done at Pavia, in the church of San Salvatore, in the emperor's palace, following the razing of Milan and the surrender of Brescia and Piacenza. 9 June, under favourable omens. Amen.

(b) 1191, Renewal of treaty by Henry VI

This set of documents mostly renews word for word the treaty of 1162. The name of Tancred (1189–94), is substituted for that of William I (1154–66), as king of Sicily, and the current consuls' names are used.

The only significant new element is as follows (LI, vol. 1/2, no. 286, p. 29)

Likewise we ordain that they must not be required to provide forage or compulsory billeting, and we shall enforce on them no additional burden of government. Likewise we grant to the Genoese permission to build a fort overlooking the harbour of Monaco to the advancement of the emperor and the defence of Christendom against the Saracens, on the basis that they occupy this fort in fief from His Imperial Majesty in perpetuity, on condition that the fort is in a state of organisation and preparedness to deliver military service to the empire whenever we or any of our successors should wish to make war on the people of Marseille or others in the Provenza. Likewise we grant to them in fief the town of Gavi with its appurtenances and all rights and facilities attaching to it.¹⁰⁰

14. 1167, Treaty of alliance with Alfonso II of Aragon

(LI, vol. 1/2, no. 293, pp. 54–57)

Regarding the king of Aragon.¹⁰¹

In the name of the Lord. These are the agreements which Alfonso, king of Aragon, count of Barcelona, and duke of the Provenza, concluded with Rodoano, consul of Genoa, and his colleagues. Let everyone be aware that I the aforesaid king undertake to all the people of Genoa and all in their jurisdiction that I will protect

¹⁰⁰ 'Gavi' is preferred to 'Gravii' in the text followed by *I Libri Iurium*.

¹⁰¹ Alfonso II ruled Aragon from 1162 to 1196. See also O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, pp. 51, 56, 60–62. Note the strongly anti-Pisan slant of this document, clearly reflecting the commercial rivalries of the age and the fact that the two cities had been at war again since 1162.

and safeguard their persons and possessions in all the territory which I hold or may acquire in the future, and wherever else that I have that capability; and I grant to them exemption in any of my lands from tolls, taxes, mooring fees or customary dues. I further promise them that I will not admit Pisans into Tortosa, nor will the Pisans get any support from me or my vassals anywhere [along the coast] from Tortosa to Nice. In Barcelona I will however admit Pisan ships for the transport of pilgrims but not for any commercial purpose.

The debts which my father owed to the Genoese and I [still] owe I shall repay within a period I shall determine with them, and I shall provide security [against the debt] of such size and nature as will satisfy them.

Likewise I promise them that if my subjects take anything from them, I shall either secure the return to them of the property or give them full satisfaction.

If both I and the Genoese want to add or subtract from the above treaty, I shall honour the treaty on that [changed] basis.

If it were to come about that the town of Albaronum¹⁰² should be surrendered to me or to them or if by any means I were to gain possession of it, I would be bound by this treaty. As far as lies in my power, both I and my successors will keep this agreement.

We the consuls of Genoa promise the aforesaid king of Aragon, and those of his successors who have respected this treaty with us, that we will protect his subjects and their belongings within our jurisdiction by land and sea, just as they have been accustomed to travel, and we promise him in good faith that we will help him to capture Albaronum. If our citizens should take anything from him or his subjects we will make them return it or we shall impose a penalty on them which fully reflects the value. If in the future our citizens inflict any injury on his, the consuls of Genoa will conduct an investigation and restitution will be made or a just resolution will be implemented. And I the king of Aragon will be bound by this same treaty on behalf of myself and my subjects.

This treaty was concluded in the year of our Lord 1167, on 2 May, or the tenth day of the lunar month,¹⁰³ and may this treaty remain firm for ever.

15. 1169, Mutual defence treaty with the Emperor Manuel Komnenos

(*LI*, vol. 1/2, no. 352, pp. 183–89)¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Near the mouth of the River Rhône, now Albaron.

¹⁰³ The ecclesiastical lunar year started with the first full moon after the Spring equinox. Astronomically, this was on 6 April in 1167. Easter fell on the first Sunday thereafter, 9 April. The next astronomical new moon was on 21 April. The tenth day after this was 1 May, but ecclesiastical lunar calendars were not precisely aligned with astronomy.

¹⁰⁴ This translation follows version C. The Latin differs from the alternative version B printed in parallel in *LI*, vol. 1/2, pp. 183–89, probably rightly attributed to varying translations of a document originally in Greek. The substance of the two versions is the same.

Treaty with the emperor of Constantinople.¹⁰⁵

Whereas the most distinguished [arch]bishop of the city of Genoa and its most learned consuls and the whole commune of that city have sent to me¹⁰⁶ as their ambassador His Excellency Amico di Murta, and have charged him with negotiating and bringing to completion a treaty with me about the issues which they wanted be covered, he has reached my Empire, and after exhaustive negotiation of these matters has concluded the treaty here set out and has confirmed under oath that it reflects word for word [the contents of our agreement].

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. I, Amico di Murta, a citizen of Genoa sent by the archbishop of Genoa and the consuls and the whole body of the commune of Genoa, and having received plenipotentiary authority from them that whatever I commit to under oath in the process of establishing a treaty on behalf of the Genoese with the most magnificent Emperor of the Romans, Porphyrogenitos Manuel Komnenos would also be honoured by them, I commit on oath to this treaty now before us, at the wish of the archbishop, the consuls and the whole commune of Genoa, to the most holy Lord Emperor of the Romans Porphyrogenitos Manuel Komnenos and all his heirs and successors to his Empire and to the Roman lands, as time will make clear.

Whereas both now and forever, so long as the world shall exist, the Genoese will never stand against His Majesty or his heirs or successors or show hostility to the Roman lands or any of the emperor's territories which he now possesses or, God willing, he might possess in the future, by intent or through financial influence or by a naval expedition or by any other means; nor will they do so through their own action or through allying themselves under any pretext, reasonable or unreasonable, with any person, whether crowned or not, alive or yet to exist,¹⁰⁷ Christian or non-Christian, male or female, capable of living and dying, as is fully dealt with in the law on monarchy,¹⁰⁸ which was explained to me in the Lord Emperor's palace, was understood by me through the medium of translation, and which meets with my approval to the greater glory and benefit of His Majesty and the Roman lands.

I should myself explain this to the Genoese in this way, that in the provisions which follow the law covering this aspect is to be understood and its meaning respected, as follows; that the Genoese shall never do harm to any part of the

¹⁰⁵ The context of this treaty was an attempt to revive the Genoese position in the city after the destruction of their property there by the Pisans in 1162, plus a bid to improve relations between Genoa and Byzantium after the former's agreement with Frederick Barbarossa to help him invade Sicily (**Document 13**), aroused suspicion in Constantinople. See Day, *Genoa's Response to Byzantium*, pp. 26–28.

¹⁰⁶ '*imperio meo*', literally 'My Majesty'.

¹⁰⁷ Read with B '*coronato vel non coronato*', not '*coronato*' as in C. '*Coronatus*' in another context refers to the kings of France, England and Sicily, and to the German emperor. Here it encompasses Islamic rulers too. It clearly suited both parties not to name monarchs with whom they enjoyed day to day relationships and in many cases treaty obligations.

¹⁰⁸ '*capitulum de coronato*'.

emperor's territory, or his person, or the persons of his heirs and successors, nor shall they cause any reduction in the area he rules or in his estate, nor shall they acquire any of his territory or estate through their own actions or otherwise; rather, if they become aware of any such occurrence in the vicinity of Genoa, they should stand against it, and if an attack or siege is initiated by anyone against any territories of the emperor, any Genoese who happen to be in those territories should with total loyalty, without deception or evil intent, defend and protect them for the greater glory of the Lord Emperor and his heirs.

If any naval force of up to one hundred galleys or more of any enemy, Christian or of another faith, attacks any of the Lord Emperor's territory, any Genoese who happen to be in the Roman lands should enlist for service in the emperor's galleys with the standard financial payments from the emperor's treasury usually paid to the Latins, and they will proceed against such a fleet with the galleys of the Greeks, and will not come back until this period of duty is completed and the Greeks' galleys return to the great city [Constantinople] or to another territory of the emperor. Moreover when the Genoese enlist, they are to be given authority to leave behind 20 men of their own choice to guard their ships and cargoes. The Genoese should exclusively board as many galleys as they are able to man and equip fully. If however in any territory there are not enough Genoese to man even a single galley, they will all go on board one galley with other foreigners in sufficient numbers to form its complement.

Whenever the emperor wishes to deploy to Genoa treasure or cargo or his citizens or galleys or sailing ships, whoever is the target of his operations, Christian or non-Christian, a monarch or otherwise, the Genoese will unfailingly receive them with due respect, and protect and safeguard in their territory, in accordance with the wishes of the emperor's people on the spot, against anyone, be he a monarch or not, all the treasure, cargo, imperial subjects, galleys and sailing ships, irrespective of their quantity or nature.

The law regarding monarchy is inserted here and is to be interpreted as set out above to the greater glory and benefit of the Lord Emperor and the Roman lands.

The Genoese will never seek to prevent the Lord Emperor, his heirs or successors from taking possession of any territory, except what they own by legal right in Syria, whether secured in war or by purchase or in some other way.¹⁰⁹ But if the legal right of the Genoese to those territories is being safeguarded on the emperor's behalf,¹¹⁰ even in these territories they may not stop the emperor from doing whatever he wishes.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ An interesting exclusion, reflecting the importance of Genoese holdings in the Levant.

¹¹⁰ '*ex parte imperatoris*'.

¹¹¹ This is presumably a diplomatic acknowledgement by the Genoese that the emperor still claimed title to Antioch, reclaimed in 1158, and perhaps other areas in which they held enclaves. B has '*iusticia*', C '*ius*'.

As regards provocations which Genoese might happen to commit against Greeks or against other non-Genoese aliens in the emperor's territory, they will be subject to the justice of the Lord Emperor's court in the same way as the Venetians and the other Latin nations.

If Genoese were ever to plunder or otherwise harm any territory or subjects of the Lord Emperor, notice will be served on Genoa by the emperor in writing or through his ambassador, and the Genoese will be requested to find the wrongdoers with no deceit or bad intent and to seek to impose a just penalty on them, taking full account of the Lord Emperor's dignity. If however the wrong-doer is not found, let action be taken in like fashion against his assets.

The inhabitants of the whole city of Genoa, from the mightiest to the lowliest, must observe this treaty and all the provisions set out in it with regard to the emperor of the Romans, Porphyrogenitos Manuel Komnenos, and all his heirs and successors so long as the earth shall exist. All who are about to become consuls of Genoa must first testify with the advice and encouragement of the archbishop and the leaders of the whole Genoese people that they have sworn to keep this treaty, that they will keep this treaty as binding and undiluted, and that the Genoese will never because of a prohibition by the Church or by decree of any man, whether a monarch or not, stand in the way of acting in accordance with this treaty, whilst the Lord Emperor, his heirs and successors are committed to observe in perpetuity His Majesty's promises to the city of Genoa through what is agreed in this chrysobull, and which the Genoese have on this basis.¹¹² [Formal ending]

16. 1167–86, Correspondence regarding the restoration of rights granted in the 'Golden Inscription'

(*LI*, vol. 1/2, nos 311–13, pp. 113–16; nos 316–21, pp. 119–26)

(*a*) 1167–69, *Letter from Pope Alexander III to the patriarch of Jerusalem urging restoration of the 'Golden Inscription'*¹¹³

(*LI*, vol. 1/2, no. 311, pp. 113–14)

This is the apostolic letter sent to the patriarch of Jerusalem urging restoration of the Golden Inscription regarding the interests and rights of the Genoese which the king of Jerusalem had caused to be obliterated from the Temple.¹¹⁴

¹¹² See the 'Consuls' Brief', CD, vol. 1, no. 128, pp. 153–66, for the recurring commitment of the consuls.

¹¹³ For the controversy over the 'Golden Inscription' see Introduction, pp. 24–15, n. 88.

¹¹⁴ '*de templo*', a seemingly generic phrase for a church, albeit curiously used given the context here. On the likely location of the inscription, see Kedar, 'Genoa's Golden Inscription', pp. 321–26.

‘Bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to our venerable brothers Amalric, patriarch of Jerusalem,¹¹⁵ and the archbishops, bishops, and our beloved sons the abbots who hold office in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and also to the master of the Knights of the Temple, greetings and the apostolic blessing.

Our beloved sons the citizens of Genoa have provided evidence in a report sent to us that although the legal and customary privileges to which they are entitled in the kingdom of Jerusalem had been inscribed in letters of gold in the temple as a permanent reminder to future generations, your King Amalric, our son most loved in Christ, has had the inscription destroyed. Since the Genoese were fearful lest their legal and customary entitlements might be extinguished as a result of the destruction of this inscription, they have made an urgent request to us to write to His Majesty on this matter. We were overwhelmed by the pressing request of these citizens [of Genoa], and were in any case influenced by reflecting on the most welcome piety and manifold respect which they have in our hour of greatest need, and in timely fashion, loyally and in full measure devoted to us. In giving this matter my full attention, I am desirous of extending the improvements in the reputation and high standing of the king himself and in the favourable prospects of his kingdom, which have accrued to the kingdom and especially now have the potential of further enhancement as a result of the assiduous efforts of the Genoese, we have courteously and solicitously written to the aforementioned king to have the Golden Inscription restored so as to preserve intact and undiminished the legal and customary entitlements which the citizens of Genoa have by right in his kingdom. Since therefore we have absolute confidence in your discerning wisdom, we guide your caring concern to be engaged in this matter, instructing you through this apostolic letter of the extent to which you should focus your committed and purposeful efforts on the king, to whom I have made frequent reference, with a view to getting the Golden Inscription restored and the legal and customary entitlements of the Genoese preserved intact, to such [good] effect that, as a result, we shall incur a debt to your discreet intervention, requiring as payment the most extravagant gestures of thanks, and your loving care and energy could seem worthy of [formal] commendation as a result of this affair.

Benevento, 13 October.

(b) 1167–69, Alexander III’s letter of the same date to King Amalric

(LI, vol. 1/2, no. 312, p.115)

The pope writes in very similar terms to King Amalric, concluding however as follows.

We counsel your majesty by this apostolic letter, and urge and advise that your royal prudence and discretion see to it that the aforesaid inscription be restored,

¹¹⁵ Amalric of Nesle, patriarch of Jerusalem, 1157–80. See Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 76–80.

and preserves intact and unharmed the legal and customary entitlements which the aforesaid citizens [of Genoa] are known to possess in your kingdom, lest through this episode the rumour of some dispute between you and them should gain currency and you lose their commitment and loyalty which we consider would be highly damaging to you and your kingdom.¹¹⁶

Benevento, 14 October.

(c) 1179, Alexander III's letter to Baldwin IV, still seeking restoration of the 'Golden Inscription'

(LI, vol. 1/2, no. 313, p. 116)

Bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God, greetings and the apostolic blessing on our most beloved son in Christ, the glorious king of Jerusalem. Our beloved sons the consuls of Genoa have informed us that although the treaty with the Genoese and their rights to revenue had been recorded in letters of gold in the Church of Our Lord's Sepulchre, your late father Amalric, formerly king, had that inscription obliterated. The consuls further allege that this same king seized from them by force a certain amount of money of which they have since been unable to obtain restitution. Since therefore it makes sense for Your Majesty to retain the commitment and loyalty of the Genoese and their city, we urge Your Majesty, we counsel and instruct you to effect the restoration in its original form of the Golden Inscription which was destroyed at the command of the aforementioned king, and without being obstructive to return to the Genoese that money which your father forcibly took from them, in such a manner they could and should rightly turn their attention to serving Your Majesty, and we would deservedly commend your royal good sense.

Lateran, 26 April.

(d) 1186, Pope Urban III urges Baldwin V to restore the Genoese concessions or submit the matter to arbitration

(LI, vol. 1/2, no. 316, pp. 119–20)

Regarding restitution of the interests of the Genoese in the lands beyond the sea mentioned in writing below: –

Bishop Urban, servant of the servants of God, to our most loved son in Christ, Baldwin, glorious king of Jerusalem, greetings and the apostolic blessing.

It has probably reached Your Majesty's ears that the citizens of Genoa settled in your land and by the grace of God have, through their courage and strength in equal measure, become very powerful, and in a position to bring great help and support to the land of Jerusalem. Which means that care is needed to avoid, as the result of an error already committed, or of one which might be committed in the future, shaking the commitment of the citizens of Genoa to their obligation to feel

¹¹⁶ Read '*ne*' ('lest') with A, for '*nec*' in *I Libri Iurium* text.

a shared concern for supporting this land and coming in timely fashion to its aid. Since therefore the citizens of Genoa complain that through the passage of time they have lost the concessions made to them by the late King Baldwin [I], we urge your excellency and we beg you in the name of the Lord, that you either restore to them what the aforesaid king is [well] known to have granted to them at that time when they had fought successfully in the conquest of the Holy Land, that is to say the quarter or street in Jerusalem and another in Jaffa, and the third share in Caesarea, Arsuf and Acre, with a third share of the entry dues at the harbour chains, and duties within a one league radius of [their one-third share] of those cities, and peaceably settle the matter; or that you that you delay no longer offering full powers of arbitration to our venerable brother the archbishop of Nazareth and our beloved sons the masters of the Knights of the Temple and the Hospital or any two of them if not all are available.¹¹⁷

Verona, 12 March.

(e) 1186, Urban's letter to his proposed arbitrators

(*LI*, vol. 1/2, no. 317, pp. 120–21)

Bishop Urban, servant of the servants of God, to our venerable brother the archbishop of Nazareth, and our beloved sons the masters of the Knights of the Temple and of the Hospital of Jerusalem, greetings and the apostolic blessing. The complaint presented to us by our beloved sons the citizens of Genoa has made it clear that our son, Baldwin,¹¹⁸ most dear in Christ, the glorious king of Jerusalem, has illegally seized and occupied the quarter or street in Jerusalem and another in Jaffa, and the third share in Caesarea, Arsuf and Acre, with a third share of the entry dues at the harbour chains, and duties within a one league radius of [their one-third share] of those cities, which it is well known that the late King Baldwin [I] gave them as concessions at that time when they had fought successfully by his side in the conquest of the Holy Land, and is refusing to hand them back to the Genoese. We therefore entrust to your discretion, by authority of this letter, to bring the parties together and having fully heard and understood the arguments on both sides to bring this dispute to its due end, with no scope for further delay through appeal. If however you are not all able to take part in these proceedings, would two of you in any case please proceed.

Verona, 13 March.

¹¹⁷ The archbishop of Nazareth was Letard II (1158–90), the master of the Templars at this time was Gerard de Ridefort (1185–89), the master of the Hospitallers was Roger des Moulins (1177–87).

¹¹⁸ Presumably Baldwin V, 1185–86.

(f) 1186, Urban III's letter to the prior and canons of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, ordering them to restore the 'Golden Inscription'

(LI, vol. 1/2, no. 318, pp. 121–22)

With reference to the restoration or refurbishment of the Golden Inscription, as follows:

Bishop Urban, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons the prior and canons of the Sepulchre of our Lord, greeting and the apostolic blessing.

A serious and culpable example of high-handed behaviour has come to our notice through a complaint by the citizens of Genoa, to the effect that certain of your canons have dared, in an act of wickedness greatly to be condemned, to destroy from the ambulatory around the altar where it used to shine forth, the inscription in gold letters which contained the decisions of the late King Baldwin [I] entered into between himself and the Genoese; this is resulting in destruction of the historical record, and providing a basis for rumour of a dispute with the Genoese. Yet there is no part of the Christian world which does not realise that just as diverse benefits come to the land of Jerusalem through their goodwill, serious harm could come to it by upsetting them through a dispute. Wherefore we command you in instructions by apostolic letter to oblige those responsible for this defacement to restore the inscription to which we have referred; or in the circumstances that they are dead or are perhaps not willing to obey, we command you to incur appropriate expenses from common funds and place absolutely no obstacles in the way of the Genoese who want to restore it which would prevent them from renewing in the freshly restored inscription the force of the past decision; and when it has been restored through God's agency, take all possible care to avoid a repeat of this overbearing high-handedness in respect of this inscription.

Verona, 13 March.

Urban wrote that same day to the patriarch of Jerusalem, urging him to put pressure on the clergy of the Holy Sepulchre to comply with his instructions.

(LI, vol. 1/2, no. 319, pp. 122–23). *He tells the patriarch, 'If what is alleged is true [that the canons destroyed the inscription] you should require them by ecclesiastical censure to restore it at their own expense with no right of appeal. But if the authors of this act of arrogance are either dead or refuse to comply, you should not stop the Genoese doing it unimpeded, if they themselves take the initiative in restoring it; indeed you should rather offer them what advice and support you can.'*

17. 1176, William of Montferrat confirms privileges in the kingdom of Jerusalem¹¹⁹

(CD, vol. 2, no. 105, pp. 234–36)

In the name of the Lord, Amen. I, William, marquis of Montferrat, agree and undertake to you the consuls of the commune of Genoa, Nicolo Embriaco, Ogerio Vento, Simone Doria, and Amico Grillo on behalf of the commune of Genoa, that I shall keep safe and support, for as long as I shall live, all Genoese and citizens from the area of Genoa's jurisdiction and their goods and chattels in every territory and jurisdiction, both where I have control and, God willing, I shall take control from others in the future, on land and by sea. In all legal cases and disputes in which the Genoese may in the future be involved, I will offer them advice and good faith towards a [satisfactory] conclusion and support them thereafter. Without deception I will assist the church and commune of Genoa and the Genoese themselves to keep and have quiet enjoyment of all the concessions and privileges they have or will have in the Holy Land; and, which heaven forefend, they lose [any of these I will help them] to recover them. I shall neither by deed or by intent cause anything to do damage to them. They may make future demands for recovery of concessions and rights in the Holy Land which they once possessed, and I will give them active help and advice in good faith towards a settlement; it is however excluded that I should make war for this purpose, and there is a total exclusion in respect of the county of Jaffa and its appurtenances, and of those areas which the king reserves to himself.¹²⁰ I shall offer help and advice to the end that the Genoese and their church and commune either get restitution or acquire full redress or at least reach an agreed compromise on such terms that it appears in my honest opinion to accord with the benefit and dignity of both the city of Genoa and of the king.

I, Marquis William, in good faith and in the absence of any deception or evil intent, swear to uphold and implement [the above provisions], and will not knowingly act contrary to them. Done in Genoa in the palace of the archbishop of Genoa, in the presence of the following witnesses summoned for the purpose: Amico di Murta; Grimaldo Cannelle; Rubeo della Volta; Oberto Lucensi; Martino Tornello; Guarino, *praeceptor* of the Hospital in Lombardy; Rainerio de Grana; Oberto Guardalosso; Guglielmo Grafagna. 23 August, 1176. Three copies of this agreement were made, A, B and C, of which the Genoese have A and C, and the marquis himself has B.

¹¹⁹ The context of this letter is William's forthcoming marriage to Sibylla, heiress to the throne of Jerusalem, coupled with Genoa's need to recover the privileges recently curtailed by Kings Baldwin III and Amalric. As noted in the Introduction, above, pp. 25–26, William's engagement represented a real opportunity to recover and increase Genoese standing in the kingdom of Jerusalem. William, mindful of his imminent responsibilities and the sensibilities of his new role, includes some expedient exclusion clauses here.

¹²⁰ The king of Jerusalem.

18. 1187, Letter from the Genoese to Pope Urban III about the Battle of the Horns of Hattin

[Roger of Howden] *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis. The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I AD 1169–92, known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series No. 49, 2 vols (London, 1867), vol. 2, pp. 11–13.¹²¹

Most pious father and lord Urban, by the grace of God most deserving shepherd of the Holy and Universal Church, the Genoese humbly all offer you the reverence which is owed to you in all matters by their commune. Most holy father, from the accounts of this infamous affair, and the gloomy reports of one of our citizens returning from the lands beyond the sea, we have learned of the judgments which God has recently imposed in that region, and how, provoked by our sins, but unmindful of His mercy, He appears to have passed premature judgment on the world on the basis of justice. When Saladin, king of Egypt, had invaded the territory of Jerusalem with 80,000 and more horsemen¹²² and more on the Friday following the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and had seized Tiberias by force, except for the citadel to which the mistress¹²³ of the town had retreated with a few knights, a report of these events was given to the king.¹²⁴ Although it seemed a preferable course to the king to spend time fortifying cities and towns, rather than plunging himself so precipitately into a decisive battle, he finally marched towards Tiberias on the advice of the count of Tripoli¹²⁵ who had recently entered into a compact of peace with him, and at the prompting of Milianus,¹²⁶ faced with the tears of the lords of Tiberias who were gasping to go to the relief of their mother. Then the count, who was both in command and guiding the way, drew up the whole army in an exposed and rocky place. With the enemy menacing on all sides, the king under pressure of necessity and on the advice of the barons thought the right thing to do was to join battle; and at their insistence he allowed the master and knights

¹²¹ This letter is one of the earliest reports to reach the West after the disastrous events of July 1187. It is also translated in *Letters from the East*, no. 45, pp. 82–83. See the brief account in Ottobono Scriba's 'Annals', p. 145 above, and the fuller narrative in *Brevis Historia*, pp. 160–63 above. Two more letters, now dated to 1188 by Pryor, are of note: 'Two *excitationes* for the Third Crusade: the Letters of Brother Thierry of the Temple', ed. J.H. Pryor, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 25 (2010), pp. 147–68. See notes 70–73, p. 160 above for further discussion of the Battle of Hattin.

¹²² '*militum*'.

¹²³ Eschiva, wife of Count Raymond III of Tripoli.

¹²⁴ King Guy of Lusignan.

¹²⁵ See however, *Brevis Historia*, p. 160 above, for the more traditional view that the count of Tripoli advised against proceeding to Tiberias. See Barber, *Crusader States*, pp. 297–303.

¹²⁶ We cannot safely identify '*Milianus*'. This could however be a corruption of '*Balianus*', Balian of Ibelin, who was present at the battle.

of the Temple to strike the first blows, with certain knights spread across the battle line in their own battle-order, and their battle standards passed to the count of Tripoli and the other commanders of the soldiers. The Knights Templar, rushing towards the enemy like a mighty lion, killed some of them and routed others. The rest, mindless of the king's orders, did not march into battle or provide them with any support, so that the Knights Templar were overcome and hacked down. The Parthians¹²⁷ then started fires all around the army of the Christians which was exhausted by its strenuous march, and overcome by the excessive heat in the absence of any water.

Then six of the king's knights, Baldwin de Fortuna, Raulfus Buceus, Laodicus of Tiberias, with three of their associates, were possessed by an evil spirit and fled to Saladin. Voluntarily transformed into Saracens, they informed Saladin about the present state, future plans and resources of the Christians. Saladin had been wavering in his anxiety about the outcome of the battle, but rekindled his energies and mounted a charge at the Christians with trumpets sounding and a vast horde of soldiers; but the Christians were unable to fight because of their rocky and impassable positions. Saladin assailed them with every kind of attack, and overcame them. Finally Taqi al-Din, Saladin's nephew,¹²⁸ took King Guy of Jerusalem captive as he was running away and seized the Lord's wooden cross. Virtually all the rest were smashed, captured, hacked to pieces and put in chains by the Egyptians, alas, oh woe, totally defeated on the level ground. Saladin immediately had the knights of the Temple and the Hospital segregated from the rest and beheaded before him. He killed Reynald de Châtillon with his own hand.¹²⁹ He then captured the city of Acre together with places nearby and virtually all the fortified positions in that area. The Syrians who had stayed in that area, had reportedly been sending messages to Saladin about the surrender of the city. All who fled from Acre and a great crowd of fleeing Christians took refuge in Tyre. Ascalon is well defended with good food supplies and crack troops. Antioch and Margat are well defended, like most of the territory of the prince.¹³⁰ The territory of the prince of Tripoli is still safe.¹³¹

With regard to these most burdensome and unexpected woes, which are the result of the righteous judgment of God under the pressure of our sins, most merciful father, most mighty high priest, vicar of Christ, holy pope and lord, bring your holy thoughts to bear on the flock of the Lord which has been entrusted to you, watch over us with your most careful guidance, and courageously go forward through the power of your works. Bring together the nations and unite the peoples,

¹²⁷ A generic term for the Muslim armies.

¹²⁸ Taqi al-Din 'Umar, governor of Hama.

¹²⁹ This famous episode has a number of variations in the telling, see Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, p. 264.

¹³⁰ Prince Bohemond III.

¹³¹ Raymond III, count of Tripoli. On Saladin's campaigns after Hattin, see Barber, *Crusader States*, pp. 306–10.

and give courage to our shoulders,¹³² to recover the holy of holies, and that most blessed land where the feet of the Lord stood, and where shine the workshops of our redemption and the commitments¹³³ of our Christian faith. God will not forget to show mercy,¹³⁴ whose mercy is encompassed within his anger, because the Lord is near to those who truly call upon Him.¹³⁵ We [the Genoese] suffer injury in those regions at the hands of new masters who seemed neither to fear God nor to respect men, both regarding our possessions and through the shedding of the blood of some of our most distinguished citizens. Nor can we yet see any strategy to adopt in response. Just as we do not hesitate to bring ourselves to the point of informing your holiness, we shall not fall short for any reason of complying with your instructions, as if they came from our Father and Lord. May your holiness be strong in the Lord, Holy Father.

19. 1187–90, Genoese rights in Tyre

(*LI*, vol. 1/2, nos 330–31, pp. 135–40)

(a) 1187, *The barons of Outremer grant rights in Tyre to the Genoese*

(*LI*, vol. 1/2, no. 330, pp. 135–37)

In the name of the Holy Trinity, three in one, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Amen. Let it be known to all men, now and in the future, that following the most lamentable battle¹³⁶ fought with the Turks above Maskana near Tiberias, the barons of the kingdom of Jerusalem meeting in Tyre with the archbishops and the heads of the Temple and Hospital, and seeing that they would lose the Holy Land, by common consent granted freedom of passage in and out of Tyre to the Genoese, on the basis that they paid no customary dues whatsoever on the goods and transactions forming their imports and exports by land or sea, on the grounds that they found the Genoese alert and in a state of preparedness to defend the city, and of a mind to serve the king and queen loyally.¹³⁷

The aforesaid barons and dignitaries together with the rest of the vassals of the king and queen promised to the Genoese to put this grant of free passage on a sure and stable basis with the Lord King and queen so that the gift of free passage and immunity from taxation should continue as established and unchallenged. They likewise granted to the Genoese an enclave for their own use in Tyre, and assigned a compound to them for it, comprising a shambles with three houses adjacent to

¹³² I Samuel 10.9.

¹³³ ‘*sacramenta*’.

¹³⁴ Psalm 77 (Vulgate 78), 9.

¹³⁵ Psalm 145 (Vulgate 146), 18.

¹³⁶ The Battle of Hattin.

¹³⁷ Guy and Sibylla remained king and queen.

it together with a street and all its appurtenances and two blocks of houses facing the shambles and its adjacent houses, separated from them partly by a public road and partly by a right of way or footpath and extending in one direction as far as the house of Theobald the goldsmith and in the other to the house which belonged to the late master Peter the Genoese. Those who presented this promised concession to the Lord King and queen for ratification were the three archbishops, the Lords Joscius of Tyre, Letard of Nazareth and Monachus of Caesarea;¹³⁸ the barons, the count of Tripoli; Count Joscelin, seneschal of the kingdom; Reynald, lord of Sidon; Balianus,¹³⁹ Galterius of Caesarea, and many other vassals of the king and queen, as well as Brother Thierry, *praeceptor* of the Temple and brother Borrelli, *praeceptor* of the Hospital. So that this act might have the seal of permanence and the robustness of durability they had this document sealed with the seal of the lord archbishop of Tyre. This was done in the year of our Lord 1187, in the fifth year of the indiction, in the palace of the archbishop of Tyre, when Guglielmo Piperata was consul and *vicecomes* of the Genoese in Tyre, with lords Raymond of Byblos,¹⁴⁰ William of Tiberias, and Robert of Pinkehnech as witnesses.

(b) 1190, *Conrad of Montferrat extends Genoese privileges in Tyre*

(LI, vol. 1/2, no. 331, pp. 137–40; Mayer, vol. 2, no. 526, pp. 888–89)¹⁴¹

In the name of the Holy Trinity, three in one, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Amen. Conrad, son of the marquis of Montferrat, by the grace of God, lord of Tyre, Sidon and Beirut, to Guido Spinola, a noble and energetic man, consul of the Genoese, and to the commune of that city, eternal greetings.

It behoves everyone, and more particularly it is right and proper that a prince who is a leader or has legal authority and power to requite worthy deeds with the rewards they deserve, especially when the debt is owed to you all for your great loyalty,¹⁴² since a whole community is stronger and more powerful than its constituent individuals. Recalling therefore in how excellent and praiseworthy

¹³⁸ These men were Archbishop Joscius of Tyre (1186–1202); Letard II of Nazareth (1158–90) and Monachus, archbishop of Caesarea and later patriarch of Jerusalem (1197–1202); the last of this trio was always known as ‘Monachus’ (the monk), although his real name was Aimery and he was, by birth, a Florentine. See Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 122–23.

¹³⁹ This is Balian of Ibelin, one of the most senior lords in the kingdom.

¹⁴⁰ This is Raymond of Jubayl, brother of Ugo II, lord of Jubayl. As Mack has noted, from the 1160s onwards the Embriaci in the Latin East abandoned their surname and adopted Byblos (the ancient Greek name for Jubayl/Gibelet), Mack, *Merchant of Genoa*, pp. 134–37.

¹⁴¹ For detailed analysis of Genoa’s relations with Conrad, and specifically of this decree, see Jacoby, ‘Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1187–92)’, pp. 207–09, as well as the Introduction above, pp. 27–28.

¹⁴² ‘*de impenso obsequio*’.

fashion the city of Genoa has fought for the liberation of the Eastern lands since times long past, and with what an out-pouring of blood it sought through conspicuous faith to restore those lands to their original freedom, and recognising the noble qualities of their citizens at the outset of this period of captivity in the course of which they strove courageously to snatch from the jaws of the heathens those few Christians who survived and to protect them; and also recalling how splendidly during the current siege of the city of Acre the aforesaid consul with his fellow citizens of noble blood and the rest of the Genoese community conducted themselves like true Maccabees, striving at sea and on land by use of their fortifications, defensive siege-engines, knights, infantry, slingers and archers, we consider that they deserve recognition and reward from Him who rewards all good deeds and especially from Christ's princes and those believe in Him. Wherefore we make in perpetuity the grant of a concession which is rock solid, not just on our own behalf but also on behalf of our successors, to you, Guido Spinola, Genoese consul *de comuni*, and through you we confirm to the whole commune of your city through the instrument of this document, as follows: – for you, for the commune of Genoa, and for all Genoese and all who are regarded as Genoese, an enclave for your own use in the city of Tyre and the freedom¹⁴³ to buy and sell in your trading post in this same city of Tyre with no liability to tax; we further grant that no Genoese or person who is regarded as Genoese shall be summoned or called to account in respect of any dispute or trial for any action or offence other than in their own court and judicial procedure; this right shall however be subject to these three exceptions: murder, theft and piracy. In respect even of these cases, it is our wish and we have previously reached an agreed view that the defendant accused of any of these listed offences and the plaintiff should first be brought together before the Genoese court and that no Genoese or person who is regarded as Genoese can or ought in any circumstances or in respect of any offence to be sent to prison or be subject to any penalty if he wishes or has the means to offer a pledge or guarantor in regard to the matter he is accused of.

Furthermore we grant the concession to all Genoese and men regarded as Genoese free use of the public weighing scales, the measures for barley and other dry goods and all the other [official] measures in Tyre. Likewise we grant and hand over a concession in the vicinity of Tyre to you, Guido Spinola, consul of the commune of the Genoese, acting on behalf of the commune of Genoa and all Genoese, the village of Saint George with all its districts, Oraca with all its districts, the large garden of the queen, the small garden below the citadel, the small garden below the city wall near the citadel, and the large mill belonging to the king with all its appurtenances. Likewise we grant youthe baths below the city, in front of the house of Fulk of Falesia in which men and women bathe together, the oven in the new town with another adjoining alcove, the former shambles with the three houses adjacent to it, and the whole street on either side of the shambles extending as far as

¹⁴³ One manuscript, preferred by Mayer, contains the additional words 'to enter and leave it by sea or land and....'

the house of Abraham the fisherman and all the houses in the two blocks in front of the shambles which stretch in one direction to the house of Theobald the goldsmith and in the other direction to that of Master Peter the Genoese which is part of the concession of Raymond, count of Tripoli. We likewise grant¹⁴⁴ one-third of the revenue from import and exit duties at the chain across Tyre harbour, on the basis that you retain that third from now on after deducting all costs, and that you hold this right of entitlement in perpetuity, and levy the taxes free of any obstruction or claim on my part or that of any other authority or lord of Tyre or any successor of mine. We likewise grant... the house which used to belong to Opizzo Lombardo by the harbour of Tyre, with all its appurtenances above and below, internal and external, which is adjoined on one side by the house of Oberto de Sandala, and on the other by that of Gandolfo of Saône with a public road in front and a private road behind. We likewise grant.... to you all the houses and tenements to which the aforesaid Opizzo held title on the private road beyond his house.

To validate this deed, I have given instructions that this page be written personally by Master Oddo, our notary, and sealed with the impression of our lead seal. The witnesses of this matter are Ansaldo di Buonvicino, castellan of Tyre, Baldwin his brother,¹⁴⁵ Guglielmo de Olcimiano, Aço de San Salvatore, Aço de Valentia, Giovanni Stralera, Count Baldwin, Ogerio Pane, Hugo Lercarius, and his brother Belmutio. This was done in the one thousand, one hundred and ninetieth year from the incarnation of our Lord, in the eighth year of the indiction, on 11 April in the city of Tyre, in the house of Bernard of the Temple, *vicecomes* of Tyre.

20. 1190, Agreement between the duke of Burgundy and the Genoese for the transportation of Philip Augustus's fleet to the Holy Land¹⁴⁶

(*LI* 1/6, no. 935, pp. 11–14)

Concerning the king of France.

In the name of the Lord, Amen. I, Hugh, by the grace of God, duke of Burgundy and count of Albon,¹⁴⁷ promise and commit to you the consuls *de comuni* of the Genoese, Marino, son of Rodoano, Raimundo di Fressia, Simone Vento, Ido di Carmadino, Lanfranco Pevere and Enrico Piccamiglio, on behalf of my Lord Philip, by God's grace the most illustrious king of France, whose ambassador and treasurer I am, being plenipotentiary for him to reach an agreement with you on his behalf; by virtue of which it is expressly stipulated in these letters patent

¹⁴⁴ We have omitted exact repetitions of earlier formalities.

¹⁴⁵ Ansaldo was mentioned in the '*Brevis historia*' as the man who helped Conrad of Montferrat leave from Constantinople in 1187; see above, pp. 164–65.

¹⁴⁶ See Introduction, p. 28 and Ottobono Scriba, 'Annals' p. 148 above for the commissioning of this fleet.

¹⁴⁷ Hugh acquired the county of Albon through his marriage in 1183 to Countess Beatrice; it is an area in the Rhône Alps in south-eastern France.

endorsed with his seal which I have brought to you that he will pay 5,850 marks in legal tender of refined silver, of the same quality as the silver bullion of which I have given you a weight of [¹⁴⁸] *librae*, in respect of 650 knights and 1,300 foot-soldiers, and 1,300 horses, which you commit to carry to the Holy Land in your own ships and those of your vassals with the king himself and his barons with the weapons and harness of the knights and foot-soldiers, with food supplies for the men and horses sufficient for eight months and wine for four months starting from the day when, God willing, they begin their journey from the city of Genoa and the harbours under its jurisdiction for the purpose of crossing to the Holy Land. I have paid you 2,000 of these marks in advance; as for the 3,850 outstanding, I or the king himself will pay them with no deception in Genoa, by the middle of this coming June [1190], either in person or through our ambassadors. Against these pledged moneys you are to hold to our exclusive account the food and all other supplies which will be procured in Genoa and in the areas under Genoese jurisdiction by the king's people and our own. I agree with you that the king himself, God willing, will cross the sea from the city of Genoa this coming summer; or if he is not able to travel through some act of God or for whatever reason, his generals who will make the crossing on his orders will start the voyage from Genoa. Likewise on behalf of the king I agree with you and through you with the commune of Genoa that throughout any territory which by grace of God's mercy he or his barons may acquire by any means in the course of this crossing to the Holy Land the Genoese and the men from the Genoese jurisdiction should enjoy full exemption, that is to say they should be free of any obligation to pay import or export taxes in respect of their trade or any other activity. In those cities and towns which at some time belonged to the Christians, let them have whatever the city of Genoa or its mother-church of San Lorenzo or their precursors had at that time. In the other cities of the Saracens the king will give you a church, a trading post, an oven, a bath and a quarter in which a Genoese governor¹⁴⁹ would reside with full jurisdiction. We agree further that no Genoese or person from the area under Genoese jurisdiction shall be imprisoned for any wrong-doing, if he can provide guarantors or security, and that all citizens of Genoa and of the Genoese jurisdiction should offer legal redress to a plaintiff under the jurisdiction of the Genoese governor. Likewise we promise that the king and his barons will provide safe conduct to the Genoese and to men from their jurisdiction in providing protection and support in respect of their goods and persons, by sea and on land.

The Lord Hugh, by the grace of God duke of Burgundy and count of Albon, swore on the Holy Gospels that the whole of the above is to be respected and implemented without deception by the Lord King of France and by himself, in Genoa, at a meeting of the consuls, in the presence of the Genoese council members, and also including Guillaume d'Étampes, Hugues de Mauléon and

¹⁴⁸ No figure is extant. The text contains a gap of 1 cm.

¹⁴⁹ '*vicecomes*'.

Guillaume, son of Lambert de Vienne and many others, in the year of our Lord 1190, in the seventh year of the indiction, on 16 February.¹⁵⁰

21. 1190, King Guy confirms Genoese privileges in Acre¹⁵¹

(*LI*, vol. 1/2, no. 332, pp. 140–42; Mayer, vol. 2, no. 480, pp. 819–21)

In the name of the Holy Trinity, three in one, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Amen. Let it be known to all men now and in the future that I, Guy, by the grace of God eighth king of the Latins in the holy city of Jerusalem, and the Lady Sibylla my wife, most respected queen by that same heavenly grace, confirm to you the Genoese and your commune all your rights which you were acknowledged as possessing in the city of Acre before the territory was taken into captivity [1187]. We grant as a concession in that city to you, and to all whose place of origin lies between Portovenere and Monaco who are recognised as falling under your jurisdiction and overlordship, the right to enter, dwell in and leave it with all your goods by sea or by land completely free of tax, on the basis that no one of another nationality except for people whose place of residence is between the limits set out above can by virtue of this privilege shield himself from any tax or seek any exemption for himself. We grant and confirm this concession to you and your commune in acknowledgement of the loyal service you have undertaken for us and for all Christendom during the siege of Acre, and as an incentive to you to stand firm and stronger in your commitment towards us and our supporters in the task that remains to be done in the recovery of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

We hand this confirmation of your rights to the noble and wise Guidone Spinola, consul *de comuni*, who has with other noble citizens of Genoa and many of your people bravely fought against the Saracens during the siege of the aforesaid city of Acre. The witnesses to this act are Marquis Conrad, lord of Tyre,¹⁵² Aimery,

¹⁵⁰ Belgrano and Imperiale, vol. 12, 'Annales', pp. 31–32, n. 1, provide the Latin text recording the parallel commitments on the Genoese side. It does not differ significantly from this text though slightly more detail is provided. The price is itemised as representing 9 marks per knight accompanied by two foot-soldiers and two horses, plus food for all and wine. The marks are specified as those of Troyes. They also provide for the king if he wishes, to have a ship without horses for the same price as if horses were on board. The Genoese specify the date of departure as '*in octavis sancti Johannis*' or the week following 24 June, moveable at the king's instance. They further commit to the safety of the king and his army.

¹⁵¹ For the context of this document and its place in the struggle for power between Guy and Conrad of Montferrat, see Introduction, pp. 21–22.

¹⁵² The presence of Conrad on this witness list of King Guy's is interesting. By the spring of 1190 the nobles of Jerusalem had managed to effect a compromise between the two rivals. Guy had granted Conrad Tyre, Sidon and Beirut and in return, the marquis recognised Guy as his lord and king. As Jacoby notes, however, for the first time this gave Conrad a recognised legal standing as ruler of particular lands in the kingdom and thus he

royal constable;¹⁵³ Count Joscelin, seneschal of the kingdom; Hugh of Tiberias; Gaufridus Tortus, Galganus de Cheneche, Gaçellus. Signed 4 May, 1190, during the siege of Acre by Peter the royal chancellor and archdeacon of the church of Tripoli.

Formal confirmation of these rights was provided in a further document executed on behalf of Guy in Jaffa on 26 October 1191 after the fall of Acre to the Christians, '*prece et voluntate domini Ricardi, illustrissimi regis Angl(orum)*'/ 'at the insistence and following the wishes of Lord Richard, most glorious king of England'. (*LI*, vol. 1/2, no. 333, pp. 142–43; Mayer, vol. 2, no. 485, pp. 825–27)

22. 1190, King Philip Augustus promises restoration of Genoese rights in the Holy Land

(*LI* vol. 1/2, no. 353, pp. 189–92)

In the name of the Holy Trinity, three in one, Amen. Philip, by the grace of God, King of the French.

Let all be aware, both men living today and those in the future whose eyes this letter reaches, that because of the most welcome loyal service which the Genoese have provided to us and to our barons in many ways during the holy pilgrimage in which we are engaged, we agree and promise to the consuls of Genoa, Morino son of Rodoano, Raimundo di Fressia, Simone Vento, Ido de Carmadino, Lanfranco Pevere and Enrico Piccamiglio, and through them the commune of Genoa, that all the Genoese, and everyone under Genoese jurisdiction, shall have unqualified exemption from taxes in all territory which by the exercise of divine mercy we may acquire either by our own efforts or through our barons or our vassals, except for the king of England, which during this expedition to the Holy Land we may hold by our own hand and authority, or have given or will give to a third party, on the basis that they shall be under no obligation to pay taxes on entering or leaving or any tax or levy in respect of their trade or any other activity. In those cities and towns which at some time belonged to the Christians, and which we bring into our own possession by our own efforts or through our barons or our vassals, except for the king of England [Richard I], it is our wish that they should have whatever the city of Genoa or its mother-church of San Lorenzo or their precursors had at that time; and [this applies] equally in those areas which we may hold by our own hand and authority as in areas which we have given or will give to a third party. In the other cities and towns of the Saracens of which we or our barons or our vassals, except for the king of England, may God willing take possession, equally in territory which we keep for ourselves as in that which we have granted or will

had a more secure basis to progress his efforts to acquire the throne itself. Jacoby, 'Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat', pp. 206–207.

¹⁵³ This is Aimery of Lusignan, brother of King Guy, and constable of the kingdom from 1180 to 1192 and later its king from 1197 to 1205.

grant under any arrangements, we will give them or their accredited representative on behalf of the city of Genoa, a church, a trading post, an oven, a bath-house and a compound in each city in which a Genoese governor [*vicecomes*] would reside with full jurisdiction. It is our further wish to grant that no Genoese or person from the area under Genoese jurisdiction shall be imprisoned for any wrongdoing in any of the aforesaid places which we might have acquired, provided he is able to provide a suitable guarantor or adequate security; but they should offer redress to any plaintiff who is Genoese or from the area under Genoese jurisdiction before the Genoese governor who will have been installed in every city or town to be acquired, God willing, by us, our barons or our vassals, except for the king of England.

Our wish is that these rights be respected unimpaired, as much in such of the areas to be acquired which we retain for ourselves as in the rest, to whomsoever we have granted it or will have granted it in the future. We shall oblige all to whom we have granted or will grant a share to swear that they accept an obligation on behalf of themselves and their successors to comply with all the foregoing rights in good faith, to keep them inviolate for ever, and that they deliver the oath in their own handwriting sealed with their own seal. If anyone to whom we have granted or grant in the future some of the territory of which we have ourselves taken possession does not respect these rights, or – may heaven forefend – if he contravenes them, we will at the request of the Genoese write to him under the terms of his oath of loyalty, firmly instructing him through their ambassadors to comply with and respect all the above in good faith, and we shall counsel him to do this in good faith without financial cost to ourselves. Likewise it is our wish and we agree that if our heirs receive a request on these lines from the Genoese they will issue an instruction and offer counsel in good faith. To give all these arrangements permanence, we instruct that they be reinforced by our seal, and with the insignia of the king's name written beneath it.

We have arranged for our most dear and loyal kinsman, Hugh, duke of Burgundy; Radulphus de Cuciaco,¹⁵⁴ Mathieu de Montmorency; Gauthier, our chaplain; and Alberic our marshal, to swear on our behalf that we shall in good faith respect the whole of this written decree and implement it without deception. Notwithstanding this, these five have sworn on their own behalf, gathered together in our presence, that they will see to it, and devote their energies to complying fully with all the above terms and that those terms will remain intact. Done in Genoa, in the year of our Lord 1190, and in the eleventh year of our reign, by those whose names and seals are attached, in our palace in Genoa. Seals of Theobald, steward; Guy, butler, Mathieu, treasurer; Raoul, constable.

¹⁵⁴ Probably Raoul de Clermont, the constable.

23. 1192, Conrad of Montferrat confirms Genoese rights in Acre and extends their privileges elsewhere in the Holy Land¹⁵⁵

(*LI*, vol. 1/2, no. 334, pp. 144–46; Mayer, vol. 2, no. 533, pp. 907–10)

In the name of the Holy Trinity, three in one, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Amen. Conrad, by God's grace marquis of Montferrat and lord of Tyre, eternal greetings to Guglielmo Riccio, a noble and energetic man, consul of the Genoese, and to the commune of that city.

It behoves everyone, and more particularly it is right and proper for a prince who is a leader or has legal authority and power to requite worthy deeds with the rewards they deserve, especially when the debt is owed to you all for your loyal service, since a whole community is worth more than its constituent individuals. Recalling therefore in how excellent and praiseworthy fashion the city of Genoa has fought for the liberation of the eastern lands since times long past, and with what an out-pouring of blood it sought through conspicuous faith to restore those lands to their original freedom, and recognising the noble qualities of their citizens at the outset of this period of captivity of the kingdom of Jerusalem in the course of which they strove courageously to snatch from the jaws of the heathens those few Christians who survived and to protect them; and also recalling how splendidly during the siege of Acre these same men handled themselves like true Maccabees, by use of their fortifications, siege-engines, knights, infantry, slingers and archers, and strove at sea and on land, we consider that they deserve recognition and reward from Him who rewards all good deeds and especially from Christ's princes and those who believe in Him. Wherefore I grant in perpetuity a concession, not just on my own behalf but also on behalf of my successors, with the approval and consent of Isabella, my wife, daughter of the late King Amalric, to you, Guglielmo Riccio, consul of the Genoese in Syria, and through you to the commune of the city of Genoa, and confirm by means of this document to the whole people of Genoa and all who are regarded as Genoese, an enclave and compound for your own use in the city of Acre and your own quarter, with full legal jurisdiction and financial benefit on the same basis as you held title to it before. I likewise grant as a concession and hand over to the said commune whatever it ever owned of the appurtenances of Acre outside the city walls. Likewise I grant as a concession one-third of the import duties levied on crossing the harbour chain of Acre. Likewise I grant to all Genoese and men who are regarded as Genoese the freedom to enter and leave Acre by sea or land, and the freedom to buy and sell in your trading post and at the entrance to the harbour and throughout the whole city with no liability to tax. Likewise I grant as a concession and hand over to the commune of Genoa the same enclave, the same freedoms to enter or leave by sea or land, and to buy and sell in Jaffa, Ascalon and Jerusalem, as they have in Tyre and Acre.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ The wording of this document is very close to that of **Document 19b**.

¹⁵⁶ See Mayer, vol. 2, no. 569, pp. 933–36, for the further grant by Henry of Champagne of a hamlet ('*casale*') called Deldoc in Jaffa, in 1192–93.

Likewise I hand over and grant as concessions to the commune, in Jaffa, Ascalon and Jerusalem, a house, bath-house and oven to hold in perpetuity; and if they wish they may restore in the Sepulchre of our Lord the inscription in letters of gold which they once had. Additionally I hand over and grant as concessions to the commune of Genoa an enclave and immunity from tax in every new territory which I may acquire with the help of God's bounty, to have and to hold in perpetuity on the same basis as they have in Acre and Tyre.

To make sure that this enactment receives the seal of permanence and the strength of continuity, I have instructed that this document be signed and sealed with my own lead seal. The witnesses of this matter are Lord Balian of Ibelin; Lord Reynald of Sidon; Gualterio Duro, marshal; for the Genoese, Ingo, Lord of Galiana;¹⁵⁷ Ansaldo Guaraco; Simone Bufferio; Arlotus, *vicecomes*; Rolando Piccio; Guglielmo Becco Rubeo. Done at Tyre, in the year of our Lord 1192, in the tenth year of the indiction, in the month of April, by the hand of master Oddo, notary of the aforementioned marquis.

24. 1192–95, Henry of Champagne modifies Genoese privileges in Acre and Tyre

(*LI*, vol. 1/2, nos 335–36, pp. 146–52; Mayer, vol. 2, no. 570, pp. 936–40, and no. 578, pp. 955–60)

After a laudatory introduction based on docs. 19b and 23 above, the first of these two documents modifies the generous fiscal privileges conferred by Conrad of Montferrat

If the Genoese or people regarded as Genoese reach Tyre by sea, either from the territory of the Saracens from the territory¹⁵⁸ of the Barbary Coast and Egypt on their way to the kingdom of Jerusalem, or from Constantinople via the territory of the Saracens, they will be regarded as liable to tax if they sell their cargos in Tyre, but if they make no sales they will pay no tax; but if they come by land to Tyre from any Saracen territory, they will pay tax if they sell their goods in Tyre, but if they do not sell they will not be held liable to pay tax.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Read '*Galiana*' with Mayer, not '*Gabane*' as in *LI*. See Mayer, vol. 2, no. 533, pp. 908–909. Gualterius Durus was marshal of the kingdom of Jerusalem, not, as with Puncuh's punctuation, of the Genoese.

¹⁵⁸ '*divisa*'.

¹⁵⁹ This is how the text stands. But the passage is repetitive and may be corrupt. An additional negative may have erroneously slipped into the text, which seems intended to distinguish between goods arriving or transiting by sea from Egypt, North Africa, or Asia Minor, which are made exempt from tax if re-exported, and merchandise directly imported by land which must have passed through territory held by the immediate Muslim enemy, which would surely be subject to tax whatever its origin (and be less likely to be imported by Genoese). The text may, however, be intended simply to emphasise the tax-free nature

[*The rest of this document reiterates details of the Genoese concession in Tyre set out in **Document 19b** above.*]

Document 336 is an undertaking by Henry of Champagne and Isabella to the Genoese Admiral Gafforio. It begins by repeating word for word routine complimentary references to Genoese support to the Holy Land.¹⁶⁰ There is a résumé of Genoese rights in Acre; these are extended as follows... Likewise we grant as a concession to you, Gafforio, admiral of the victorious Genoese fleet, and through you to the commune of Genoa and the Genoese, the freedom to construct a tower wherever and as high as you like within your enclave, with no interference or challenge from us or anybody else. We also grant you.... free permission to build a church of San Lorenzo in Tyre and of completing what you have started, with no objection or appeal from me; and if anyone appeals to us about this, I shall not hear their appeal.¹⁶¹ I likewise promise you and agree with you, and through you your commune of Genoa, to comply closely and fulfil all the provisions contained in the privilege you have relating to Tyre, and I will not oppose you in any respect. Likewise I promise to you, Gafforio, ...and through you to Elena, wife of Ansaldo di Buonvicino, daughter of the late Ruggiero di Isola, and her husband Ansaldo on her behalf, within eight days to return everything to her and restore full rights of ownership of everything to which she demonstrates to me the right by feudal entitlement, inheritance, purchase or taking of security.¹⁶²

[*The document was sworn by Henry, Isabella, and other dignitaries and witnessed at Acre in September 1195.*]

of all trade by the Genoese through Tyre. In any case, amend Puncuh's '*Constantinopolim*' to '*Constantinopoli*' with Mayer.

¹⁶⁰ See p. 223 above.

¹⁶¹ The right to build this church was not granted in Conrad's concession of 11 April 1190 (Document 19(b)) but under a separate grant by Archbishop Joscius on 14 April at Conrad's request. See Mayer, vol. 2, no. 527, pp. 894–96, for the grant and subsequent development of the church.

¹⁶² On Ansaldo di Buonvicino and events surrounding this property, see Jacoby, 'Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat', pp. 205–206, 233, nn. 69–71, as well as Mayer, vol. 2, no. 531, pp. 904–905.

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Note: The index uses word-by-word rather than letter-by-letter order. Prefixes such as Al- and name elements such as de, di and della are ignored in the alphabetical ordering.

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